L'Aubert de Vertot d'Aubeuf (René)

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the Government OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Written in *French* by the Abbot *de Vertot*, of the *Royal Academy of Inſcriptions*, &c.

The FOURTH EDITION.

Engliſh'd by Mr. OZELL from the Original newly reprinted at *Paris*, with Amendments and Additions by the Author himſelf, in almoſt every Page: Beſides not a few eſſential Alterations and Corrections in This Fourth Edition more than in any of the preceding ones, either *French* or *Dutch*.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

To which is prefixed,

A Tranſlation of a Memorial ſent from *London* by the late Earl STANHOPE to the Abbot DE VERTOT at *Paris*; containing divers Queſtions relating to the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Senate. With the Abbot's Anſwer.

LONDON:

Printed for *J.* and *J. Knapton*, *D. Midwinter* and *A. Ward*, *J. Pemberton*, *W. Innys*, *J. Osborne* and *T. Longman*, *R. Robinſon*, *E. Symon*. MDCCXXXII.



44.
6. 6.
62.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning this

Fourth Edition of the Abbot *de Vertot's* ROMAN REVOLUTIONS.

THO' this Edition of the *Roman* Revolutions does not contain above *three* or *four* Lines more than the laſt, yet the Alterations in it (and thoſe material ones) are more than as many *hundred*; as will appear by turning over my inter-leav'd Books, now in the Proprietors Hands; and yet more by comparing this and the preceding Editions together: becauſe, beſides thoſe Corrections on the Inter-leaves which amount to ſome hundreds, and which I took from the laſt and beſt Edition in *French*, I have added in the Reviſes, many Emendations of my own, as to the Diction, *&c.*

In this Edition I chiefly had an eye to that of the *Hague*, 1727. Accordingly, the principal Perſons Names are every-where diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt by Capitals, for the readier finding out any Event.

In the Margin is added, by way of *Lemma's*, a continual Index, which ſhews at once

ſince the Subject-matter of very-near every individual Page; and at the End is a much larger, and a more exact and compleat Table of Contents than any that hath yet appear'd; for it ſhews not only *Perſons* Names, but alſo *Places* and *Things*; as likewiſe *Words*, *Phraſes*, *Actions* and *Speeches*.

To conclude: Moſt of the Sheets I examin'd once or twice before they were wrought off; and the reſt after. What few Slips or Overſights have eſcaped either me or the Printer, the Reader will find taken notice of among the *Errata*. *Humanum eſt errare, Diabolicum perſeverare.*

In Vol. II. p. 249. inſtead of *deſerv'd* TO DYE, read *deſerv'd* THE HIGHEST PUNISHMENT. This the Reader will find abſolutely neceſſary to be ſo corrected in that place, on account of an Evaſion that comes after. *Meritoient le dernier ſuplice* it is in the Original. But tho' *dernier ſuplice* ſignifies *Death* in *French*, yet to tranſlate it ſo There and in the next Page (l. 5.) wou'd ſpoil all. I deſir'd the Printer to alter it, (but 'twas too late); as alſo that in Vol. I. p. 5. l. 6. *viz. were drawn:* Grammatically it ſhou'd be *they drew*; a ſenſible Difference in the Eye of a learned Reader, tho' to Another, perhaps, unperceivable.

JOHN OZELL.

Removed from Arundel-Street *in the* Strand, *to* Smith-Street, Weſtminſter, N°. 3.

ERRATA.

Introductory Diſcourſe.

Page	Line	Errors.		Corrections
12.	17.	*ulſcicitur*	read	*ulciſcitur.*

Anſwer to Earl *Stanhope*'s Queries.

7.	33.	*Servilius*	*Servius.*
11.	23.	*Servilius*	*Servius.*

The Hiſtory.

Lib.			
1.	34.	3. *Publicula*	*Publicola.*
2.	82.	15. after *Conſuls*, put a Comma ,	
—	98.	26. *their*	*his.*
—	—	27. *their*	*his.*
—	—	ib. Dele *and.*	
—	100.	13. *Tribuitian*	*Tribunitian.*
—	121.	22. *enducated*	*educated.*
—	124.	10. *Sirname*	*Surname.*
—	129.	30. *States*	*Eſtates*, &c.
—	—	39. Dele *on purpoſe.*	
3.	175.	marg. read *Volero inlarges the Law.*	
4.	196.	31. *Patrician Magiſtrates*	*the Patrician Magiſtrates*
—	240.	marg. *Trentillian*	*Terentillian.*
—	241.	3. *Sicinus*	*Sicinius.*
—	242.	marg. *Varro de Linguâ*	*Varro de Linguâ Latinâ*
5.	282.	28. *give heed*	*give ear.*

Vol. II.

9.	98.	33. *meaner*	*meaneſt.*
11.	171.	10. *in Picenum*	*in the Picenum.*
12.	217.	33. *Capital*	*Capitol.*
—	243.	30. *Conſuls*	*Conſul.*

ERRATA.

AN
Introductory Diſcourſe.

The Foundation of the ROMAN *Commonwealth, and the chief Cauſes of its Decay.*

THE Love of Liberty was the firſt Motive that ſway'd the *Romans* in the Eſtabliſhment of the Republic, and the Cauſe or Pretence of thoſe Revolutions we have undertaken to write the Hiſtory of. It was this Love of Liberty that proſcribed the Royalty, abridg'd the Authority of the Conſulate, and upon certain Occaſions ſuſpended even the Title of it. The very Populace, to balance the Power

of the Conſuls, wou'd have particular Protectors choſen from out of their own Body; and theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, under Pretence of guarding the Publick Liberty, raiſed themſelves by degrees to be the Directors of the Laws, and Inſpectors over the Senate and the Nobility.

Theſe State-Inquiſitors kept in awe the Conſuls themſelves and the Generals. We ſhall find, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that they often obliged them, when their Office was expired, to anſwer for their Adminiſtration, and the Succeſs of their Arms, before the Aſſembly of the People. To conquer was not enough; the Glory of the greateſt Victories could not ſhelter the General from their Enquiries, if he had not been ſufficiently careful of the Lives of his Soldiers, or during the Campaign had treated them too imperiouſly: They expected he ſhould know how to join the Dignity of the Commander with the Modeſty of the Citizen. Qualifications too ſhining were even ſuſpected, in a State where Equality was look'd upon as the Foundation of the public Liberty. The *Romans* were jealous of the Virtues they could not help admiring; and thoſe fierce Republicans cou'd not bear even to be ſerved with ſuperior Talents, that might have the leaſt Proſpect of ſubjecting them.

Thoſe that were guilty of uſing unworthy Methods to gain the Conſulate were for ever excluded from it. All Offices and Employ-

Employments, except the Cenſorſhip, were only Annual. A Conſul, at the Expiration of his Conſulate, retain'd no more Authority than what his perſonal Merit gave him: And after having commanded the Armies of the Republic in chief, he was often ſeen to ſerve in thoſe very Armies under his Succeſſor. He cou'd not enjoy the Conſulate again, 'till after an Interval of Ten Years; and that great Dignity was hardly ever left too long in the ſame Family, for fear the Government might inſenſibly grow Hereditary.

But of all the Precautions which the *Romans* made uſe of to preſerve their Liberty, none is more worthy of Admiration, than that Adherence which they a long time kept to the Poverty of their Anceſtors: That Poverty which, in the firſt Inhabitants of *Rome*, was meerly the Effect of Neceſſity, became a Political Virtue in their Succeſſors. The *Romans* thought it the ſureſt Guardian of Liberty; nay, they found ways to make it honourable, that it might be a Bar againſt Luxury and Ambition. This Contempt of Riches in private Men grew to be a Maxim of Government: A *Roman* gloried in continuing in his Poverty, at the ſame time that he daily expoſed his Life to increaſe the publick Treaſure. Every Man thought himſelf ſufficiently wealthy in the Riches of the State; and the Generals, as well as the common Soldiers, received their Subſiſtance only from

their own little Patrimony which they cultivated with their own Hands: *Gaudebat Tellus vomere Laureato.* Plin.

The firſt *Romans* were all Husbandmen, and the Husbandmen were all Soldiers; their Habit was coarſe, their Food plain and frugal, their Labour conſtant: They bred up their Children in this hard way, to make them the more robuſt, and the more capable of enduring the Fatigues of War. But under their ruſtic Outſide lay an incomparable Valour, great Elevation and Nobleneſs of Sentiments; Glory was their only Paſſion, and they placed it in the Defence of their Liberty, and making themſelves Maſters of that of their Neighbours.

Some modern Writers, who cannot bear ſuch Virtues in the Ancients, pretend that we make a Merit of the Rudeneſs of theſe firſt *Romans*, and that they deſpiſed Riches only becauſe they knew not the Value and Conveniences of them.

To remove this Objection, we need only caſt our Eyes upon the Courſe of this Hiſtory, and we ſhall ſee that in the fifth and ſixth Ages after the Foundation of *Rome*, at the very time when the Republic was Miſtreſs of all *Italy*, and of part of *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Africa* it ſelf, they ſtill took their Generals from the Plough: *Attilii manus ruſtico opere attritæ ſalutem publicam ſtabilierunt.* What Glory to a State to have Captains able to conquer great Provinces for her, and ſo diſintereſted as to preſerve

V. M. l. 4.

Cic. pro S. Roſcio.

Pl. l. 18. c. 3.

preſerve their Poverty in the midſt of their Conqueſts!

I do not ſpeak of the ſupmtuary Laws that were in force in the ſixth Century, which without any diſtinction of Birth, Fortune, or Dignity, regulated the Expence of every Citizen. Nothing eſcaped the wiſe Legiſlators that eſtabliſhed thoſe ſevere Rules; every thing is ſettled by them, as well in Dreſs, as in the Expence of the Table, the Number of Gueſts at Feaſts, and even the Charges of Funerals. Read the *Lex Oppia*; you will ſee that it forbids the *Roman* Ladies wearing Habits of ſeveral Colours, having Ornaments about their Dreſs exceeding the Value of half an Ounce of Gold, and being carried in a Chariot with two Horſes within a Mile of *Rome*, unleſs to aſſiſt at ſome Sacrifice. The *Lex Orchia* fixed the Number of Gueſts that a Man might invite to a Feaſt: And the *Lex Phannia* forbad ſpending at it above a Hundred *aſſes*, *centenos æris*; which amounted to about fifty Pence of our Money. Laſtly, The *Lex Cornelia* ſettled the utmoſt Sum which might be ſpent at a Funeral, at a yet more moderate Rate: Regulations, which tho' they may ſeem beneath the Greatneſs and Power to which the *Romans* had even then attained, yet, by baniſhing Luxury out of private Families, were the Strength and Safety of the Commonwealth.

Macr.

Paul Man. de Leg. Sumpt.

By means of this voluntary Poverty, and a laborious Life, the Republic bred in her

Boſom no Men but what were ſtrong, robuſt, full of Valour, and who expecting nothing from one another, did by a mutual Independence, preſerve the Liberty of their Country. It was theſe illuſtrious Husbandmen, that in leſs than Three Hundred Years ſubdu'd the moſt warlike Nations in *Italy*, defeated prodigious Armies of *Gauls*, *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, and broke the formidable Power of *Carthage*.

But after the Deſtruction of that Rival of *Rome*, the *Romans*, invincible abroad, ſunk beneath the Weight of their own Greatneſs.

Lucan. l. 1. ——*Ipſa nocet Moles.*

Luxury and the Love of Riches came into *Rome* with the Treaſures of the conquered Provinces; and that Poverty and Temperance, which had form'd ſo many great Captains, fell into Contempt,

Ibid. ——————*Fœcunda virorum*
Paupertas fugitur.——

And what is moſt ſurprizing is, ſays *Velleius Paterculus*, that it was not by Degrees, but all at once, that this vaſt Alteration happened, and the *Romans* ran headlong into Luxury and Effeminacy: *Sublatâ Imperii Æmulâ, non gradu ſed præcipiti curſu à virtute deſcitum, ad vitia tranſcurſum.* Pleaſure ſucceeded in the room of Temperance; Idleneſs took place of Labour, and private Regards

Vel. Pat. l. 2.

Regards extinguiſh'd that Zeal and Vehemence which their Anceſtors had ſhew'd for the Intereſt of the Public.

And indeed one wou'd take it to be another Nation which is now going to appear upon the Stage; a general Corruption ſoon ſpread it ſelf thro' all Degrees in the State: Juſtice was publickly ſold in the Tribunals; the Voices of the People went for the higheſt Bidder; and the Conſuls, after having obtained that great Poſt by Intrigues, or by Bribery, never now went to War but to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of Nations, and often to plunder thoſe very Provinces which their Duty bound them to defend and protect.

Hence came the immenſe Wealth of ſome Generals. Who wou'd believe that *Craſſus*, a *Roman* Citizen, ſhou'd be Maſter of above Seven Thouſand Talents? I omit the Treaſures that *Lucullus* brought from *Aſia*, and *Julius Cæſar* from *Gaul*. The former at his Return built himſelf Palaces, and lived in them with a Magnificence and Delicacy, that the ancient Kings of *Perſia* wou'd have found it hard to imitate; and *Cæſar*, more ambitious, beſides enriching a great Number of Officers and Soldiers by Politic Liberalities, had ſtill enough to corrupt the Chief Men in *Rome*, and to buy out the Liberty of his Country. 10300000 *Livres.*

The Provinces were obliged to ſupply theſe prodigious Expences. The Generals, under colour of ſubſiſting their Troops,

poſſeſſed themſelves of the Revenues of the Commonwealth: And the State was weaken'd, in proportion as its Members became more powerful.

Beſides the ordinary Tribute, the Governors daily exacted new Sums, either by the Name of Preſents, at their Entrance into the Province, or by way of Loan. Nay, oftentimes they car'd for no Pretence at all. It was colour ſufficient for rifling the People, and laying new Impoſts, if they did but give thoſe Exactions a new Name: *Cujus modo rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc ſatis eſſe ad cogendas pecunias.* And what was ſtill more inſupportable, to get ready Money, they gave the Collection of theſe extraordinary Tributes to Publicans, who to make themſelves amends for having advanced their Caſh, laid a double Load upon the Provinces, and by enormous Uſuries conſumed the Revenues of the following Year.

Cæſar de Bell. Civ. l. 3.

All theſe Riches flow'd to *Rome*. Rivers of Gold, or to ſpeak more properly, the pureſt Blood of the People ran thither from all the Provinces, and carried along with it the moſt terrible Luxury. There aroſe of a ſudden, and as it were by Inchantment, magnificent Palaces, whoſe Walls, Roofs and Ceilings were all gilded. It was not enough for their Beds and Tables to be of Silver; that rich Metal muſt alſo be carved or adorned with *Baſſo Relievos*, perform'd by the moſt excellent Artiſts.

——O!

——— *O! Pater Urbis*
Unde nefas tantum Latiis Paſtoribus! Juv. Sat. 2.

It is *Seneca* that informs us of this ſurpriſing Change in the Manners of the *Romans*, and who being himſelf worth Seven Millions of Gold, was not aſhamed to leave us thoſe excellent Diſcourſes upon Poverty, which all the World admires in his Writings. By what Rule of Philoſophy, cried *Suillius*, has *Seneca* in four Years Favour acquired above Seven Millions of Gold? He upbraided him, that his chief Study was to run after Wills, to take as in a Net thoſe that were without Children, and to fill *Italy* and the Provinces with his Uſuries: *Quâ Sapientiâ, quibus Philoſophorum præceptis, intra quadriennium Regiæ Amicitiæ, ter millies ſeſtertiûm paraviſſet? Romæ Teſtamenta & Orbos velut indagine ejus capi. Italiam & Provincias immenſo fœnore hauriri.* Tacit. Ann. lib. 13.

All the Money in the State was in the Hands of ſome Great Men, the Publicans, and certain Freedmen richer than their Patrons. Every Body knows that the ſtately Amphitheater which was called after the Name of *Pompey*, and wou'd hold Forty Thouſand People, was built at the Coſt of *Demetrius*, who was his Freedman: *Quem non puduit*, ſays *Seneca*, *locupletiorem eſſe Pompeio.* Dion. Caſſ. lib. 39. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8.

Pallas,

Pallas, another Freedman, and as rich as *Seneca*, for refuſing a Preſent from the Emperor *Claudius*, his Maſter, received the ſolemn Praiſes of a full Senate, and was compared to thoſe ancient *Romans* before-mentioned, ſo famous for their Diſintereſtedneſs. Nay, it was thought worth while to preſerve the Memory of his Refuſal by an Inſcription dictated by Flattery. *There is upon the Way of* Tibur, ſays *Pliny*, *a Monument with theſe Words*; *The Senate decreed* Pallas *the Ornaments of the Prætorſhip, and a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand great Seſterces. But he refuſed the Money, and was ſatisfied with the Honours and Diſtinctions belonging to that Dignity.* Et fixum eſt publico Senatusconſultum quo libertinus ſeſtertiûm ter millies poſſeſſor, antiquæ Parſimoniæ laudibus cumulabatur.

3,750,000 *Livres.*

Tac. Ann. lib. 12.

Great Moderation indeed in a Freedman worth Seven Millions of Gold, to be ſatisfied with the Ornaments of the Prætorſhip! But what Shame to *Rome*, to ſee a Fellow juſt got out of the Chains of Servitude, appear, ſays *Pliny*, with the *Faſces!* he that formerly left his Village with his Feet naked and whitened with the Chalk with which they mark'd the Slaves: *Unde cretatis pedibus adveniſſet!*

Plin. l. 7. Ep. 29. l. 8.

Plin. l. 35. C. penult.

I ſhou'd write a Book inſtead of a Preface, if I entered into the Particulars of the *Roman* Luxury, and went about to repreſent the Magnificence of their Buildings, the Richneſs of their Habits, the Jewels they

they wore, the prodigious Number of Slaves, Freedmen, and Clients, by whom they were conſtantly attended, and eſpecially the Expence and Profuſion of their Tables.

In the Time even of the Republic, they were not contented, ſays *Pacatus*, if in the very Depth of Winter the *Falernian* Wine that was fill'd out to them was not ſtrow'd with Roſes, and cooled in Veſſels of Gold in Summer. They valued the Feaſt only according to the Coſtlineſs of the Diſhes that were ſerved up. The Birds of the *Phaſis* (Pheaſants) muſt be fetch'd for them thro' all the Dangers of the Sea; and to compleat their Corruption, after the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, they began to introduce Women-Singers and Dancers into their Entertainments. Panegyr. Theod. Aug.

The young Men choſe Them for the Objects of their fooliſh Paſſion. They curled their Hair after Their Manner, affected to imitate the very Sound of their Voice, and their laſcivious Gate, and excell'd thoſe infamous Women in nothing but Vice and Effeminacy. *Capillum frangere, & ad mulie-bres blanditias vocem extenuare, mollitie corporis certare cum fæminis, & immundiſſimis ſe excolere munditiis noſtrorum Adoleſcentium Specimen eſt.* Sen. Rhet. Controv. 1.

And accordingly *Julius Cæſar*, who very well knew the falſe Delicacy of thoſe effeminate Youths, commanded his Soldiers in the Battel of *Pharſalia*, inſtead of darting their Javelins at a diſtance, to puſh them directly at the Face: *Miles faciem feri.* And Flo. l. 4. c. 2.

it

it happened, as that Great Man foreſaw, the young Fellows, exceſſively fond of their own Beauty, turned their Backs and fled, for fear of being diſfigured with Wounds and Scars.

What Defenders of Liberty! What an Omen of approaching Slavery! None cou'd be greater, than to ſee Valour leſs regarded in a State than Luxury; to ſee the poor Officer languiſhing in the obſcure Honours of a Legion, while the Grandees concealed their Cowardiſe, and dazzled the Eyes of the Public by the Magnificence of their Equipage, and the Prodigality of their Expence.

Lucan. ——— *Sævior Armis*
Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciſcitur
Orbem.

A Luxury ſo general ſoon waſted the Wealth of private Men. To ſupply their Extravagance, after having ſold their Houſes and Lands, they by baſe Adoptions and ſcandalous Alliances made Sale of the illuſtrious Blood of their Anceſtors; and when they had nothing elſe to ſell, they made Money of their Liberty. The Magiſtrate, as well as the private Citizen, Officer and Soldier, transferred their Obedience wherever they thought 'twou'd turn to moſt Advantage. The Legions of the Commonwealth became the Legions of the Great Men, and of the Heads of Parties: And theſe,

theſe, to engage the Soldier more ſtrictly to their Fortune, wink'd at his Rapine, and neglected the Military Diſcipline to which their Anceſtors owed their Conqueſts, and the Republic its Glory.

Luxury and Softneſs were ſpread from the City quite thro' the Camp. Whole Crowds of Servants and Slaves, with all the Equipage of Voluptuouſneſs, follow'd the Army, almoſt an Army themſelves. *Cæſar*, when he forced *Pompey*'s Camp in the Plains of *Pharſalia*, found the Tables ſpread as for ſo many Feaſts. The Side-boards, ſays he, bent beneath the Load of Plate both Gold and Silver; the Tents were raiſed upon fine Green Turf; and ſome (as particularly that of *Lentulus*) for the ſake of Coolneſs, were ſhaded with Boughs and Ivy. In a word, on the ſide he had forced he ſaw Luxury and Debauchery, and Murder and Carnage in thoſe Parts where the Fight ſtill continued: *Alibi prœlia & vulnera, alibi popinæ, ſimul cruor & ſtrues corporum, juxta ſcorta & ſcortis ſimile.* De Bell. Civ. l. 3. Tacit.

Is it any Wonder that Men who gave themſelves up to Pleaſure in the very midſt of Danger, and expoſed themſelves to Danger only to ſupply the Expence of their Pleaſure, ſhou'd ſee their Liberty buried in the Fields of *Pharſalia*? Whereas ſo long as that Liberty, ſo dear to the firſt *Romans*, was guarded by Poverty and Temperance; Love of their Country, Valour,

lour, and all the other Virtues both Civil and Military, were found always to attend it.

Claud. de Bell. Gild. ——— *Utinam remeare liceret*
Ad vetcres fines, & mænia pauperis Anci.





A

MEMORIAL

Sent from LONDON to the

Abbot *De Vertot* at *Paris*,

By the late

Earl *STANHOPE*,

Principal Secretary of State.

MONSIEUR the Abbot *de Vertot* is desired to communicate to some Persons, whom his History of the *Roman Revolutions* have render'd curious in every Thing relating to the ancient Government of that Republic, his Thoughts upon a Point which seems not sufficiently cleared up by those Moderns that have treated of the *Roman* Constitution.

The Question is, What was the ordinary and regular Method of Admission into the Senate, in the four or five first Ages of the Commonwealth?

It

It is certain, that in the remoteſt Times of that State, the Dignity of Conſul, and perhaps afterwards even that of Prætor or others, gave thoſe who had been inveſted with them, the Right of ſitting in the Senate during Life.

We are ſenſible, that in the firſt Ages there were none but *Patricians* in the Senate: But we wou'd fain know exactly by what Rule, or by what Authority ſome *Patricians* were Senators, while a great many other *Patricians* did not partake of that Honour. Was it from any Right of Succeſſion, or Primogeniture? Or had the *Cenſors*, and before the Eſtabliſhment of that Magiſtracy, the *Conſuls*, the Prerogative of nominating ſuch *Patricians* as they pleaſed, to fill the Places which became vacant in the Senate?

We find, that after the ſecond *Punick* War, a *Dictator* was created to fill up the Senate, which was very much exhauſted: But this Fact, inſtead of reſolving our Doubts in this Particular, only increaſes them; for we might from thence infer, that the *Romans* had no common and regular Method of ſupplying the Vacancies in the Senate, ſince they had Recourſe to the extraordinary Power of a *Dictator*.

If any Man in this Age is capable, not only of ſolving theſe Doubts, but alſo of giving the Public juſt Notions in every thing relating to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Senate, and the *Patrician* Order, it muſt be the learned and polite Author of the *Roman Revolutions*.

THE

THE ANSWER TO THE MEMORIAL.

PARIS, *Decemb.* 1. 1719.

I Am ask'd my Opinion upon divers Queſtions relating to the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Senate; and a *Frenchman* is applied to for the Solution of Difficulties, ſtarted in a Nation which ſtill retains ſome Footſteps of the ancient Government of the firſt *Romans*; and which, conſequently, ought to be better acquainted therewith. Beſides, who can have a more compleat Knowledge both of the Civil and Military Diſcipline of thoſe famous Republicans than the learned and able Miniſter, and withal the Great Captain that does me the Honour to propoſe theſe Queſtions to me; he from whoſe Judgment there had been no Appeal in the time of *Varro* and *Tully* themſelves?

In the *Memorial* ſent to me, the firſt Queſtion is, What was the ordinary and regular Method of Admiſſion into the Senate in the four or five firſt Ages of the Commonwealth.

Secondly, Why, the Senate conſiſting then of none but *Patricians*, we read of ſome *Patricians*

that were Senators, while others were only private Men, and did not partake of that Dignity? And whether this Distinction came by Succession and Primogeniture, or whether the Choice of the Candidates lay wholly in the Consuls, and afterwards in the Censors.

Lastly, For what Reason, after the second *Punic* War, a Dictator was named on purpose to fill up the Vacancies in the Senate; from whence, you'll say, one might infer, that the *Romans* had no common and regular Way of supplying those Vacancies, since they had Recourse to the extraordinary Power of a Dictator?

Tho' the Author of the *Memorial* places his Doubts in the four or five first Ages of the Commonwealth, they do not seem to us to reach so far; but they can hardly be cleared up, without going back to the very Foundation of *Rome*, and the first Establishment of the Senate.

Rome, like most other States, did more than once change the Form of her Government. At first, as every body knows, she was govern'd by Kings. The Consuls succeeded those Princes, tho' with a limited Authority. And afterwards, about the 311th Year of *Rome*, the Censorship was created, and was a Limb cut off from the Consulate: And it is to these Three Epocha's, that we shall refer all that concerns the Creation of the first Senators, and the Nomination of their Successors.

If we will believe the greater Number of Historians, it was first the Kings, and afterwards the Consuls and Censors, that disposed of the vacant Places in the Senate. According to other Authors, the People's Votes were necessary in this Promotion; and, which adds to the Perplexity, this Diversity of Opinion is found not only in different Historians, but oftentimes the same Writer seems to contradict himself in different Parts

of his Work. This is apt to breed a kind of Pyrrhonism, which is not easily thrown off, unless we are particularly attentive to the several Points of Time. There is no way but by taking a View of the different Epocha's of the Government, to form a just Notion of the several Methods by which at several times a *Roman* Citizen, whether *Patrician*, Knight or *Plebeian*, attained the Dignity of Senator.

Romulus, says *Livy*, finding his State did not want Forces, was resolved to establish a Council that might direct their Operations, and to be in a manner the Basis of the Constitution, and the Pole upon which the whole Government should turn. In this View, he created a Hundred Senators, *quum, jam virium haud pœniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat, centum creat Senatores.* So that according to that Historian, it was the first King of *Rome* that created the Senate. *Plutarch*, in that Prince's Life, ascribes the Establishment of that Society to him in the same manner. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* at first does not seem averse to the Opinion of those two Historians. *Romulus*, says he in his Second Book, resolved to form a Council of a Hundred Senators, to share with him the Cares of the Administration. But he adds afterwards, that this Prince only named the first Senator, who, in his Absence, was to preside in the Senate, and command in the City; that he order'd the Three Tribes, whereof the State then consisted, to chuse each of them three Senators; and that by vertue of a second Command of the same Prince, the thirty *Curiæ*, which made up those Three Tribes, named each three more; which, with the Senator named by the King, made just a hundred Senators. We see 'tis the King alone that forms that Design of creating a Senate; it is he that names the President or Prince of that Body of his own Authority; and

Liv. 1. Dec. 1.

tho' the Tribes and *Curiæ* elect the other Ninety nine Senators, it is only in Consequence of the expreſs Order and Command of *Romulus*.

We find the ſame Opinion again in another Part of the ſame Book; and when *Romulus* and *Tatius* the *Sabine* added a Hundred new *Patricians* to the Senate, the Choice of thoſe Senators, according to that Hiſtorian, was left wholly to the *Curiæ*, and to the Plurality of Voices. That Writer does, indeed, add, that after the Election, it was the two Princes, the *Roman* and the *Sabine*, that admitted thoſe new Magiſtrates into the Senate; which ſhews, notwithſtanding *Dionyſius*'s Prejudice, that let there be what Election there would, it was the Authority of the Sovereigns that made it valid; much as it is in *England*, where the Bills propos'd by the *Houſe of Commons*, and approved by the *Lords*, do not yet acquire the Force of Laws till they have the Conſent of the Prince. And accordingly when any Hiſtorian of that Nation aſcribes to any of their Kings the Eſtabliſhment of a Law, we are always to take it for granted, that the Parliament's Conſent was previous to the Promulgation thereof.

But to return to our Subject: We may obſerve that *Livy*, in all his Accounts of the Reigns of the *Roman* Kings, appears a thorough Royaliſt, if we may uſe the Expreſſion. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, on the contrary, a Republican under the very Royalty it ſelf, does, in many Parts of his Hiſtory, make the Kings of *Rome* merely the Heads of the Senate. If we conſult the *Latin* Hiſtorian for the manner in which the principal Men of the Town of *Alba*, after its Deſtruction, were admitted into the Senate, it was the King, according to that Author, *Tullus Hoſtilius*, that open'd them the Gates; *Principes Albanorum*, (ſays he) *in patres, ut ea quoque pars Reipublicæ creſceret, legit*; and he ſet apart a Temple to ſerve as a Palace

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or Place of Aſſembly for that Body, which he had now augmented, *templumque ordini ab ſe aucto curiam fecit.*

If, on the contrary, we caſt our Eyes upon the *Greek* Hiſtorian, we ſhall find that the King aſſembles the Senate, gathers their Suffrages; and that there the Reſolution is taken of demoliſhing the City of *Alba*, removing the Inhabitants to *Rome*, and admitting Seven of the principal Families into the Senate: All this is determin'd in a public Deliberation, wherein the Prince ſeems to have had no more than his ſingle Voice, like the reſt. *The* Romans *have decreed it*, ſays that Prince, ſpeaking to the *Albans*, to inform them of what had been agreed upon touching the Deſtruction of their City.

Livy never varies from his Character all through his Account of the Government of the Kings. Thoſe Princes determine ſolely and abſolutely concerning every thing that relates to the Senate. When *Tarquin* the Ancient, contrary to Cuſtom, brings into it a hundred *Plebeians*; the *Latin* Hiſtorian tells us directly, that this Innovation was the Prince's own doing; and that thoſe hundred *Plebeians* were admitted into the Senate only by his Favour; *centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium ſunt appellati:* And he adds, *factio haud dubia Regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant.*

The ſame Hiſtorian, after having related the ill Deſigns of *Tarquin* the Proud, the Grandſon of the Prince juſt mention'd, and all the Engines he ſet at work to uſurp the Crown, which was then upon the Head of *Servius Tullius*, ſays expreſly, that he endeavour'd to gain over thoſe new Senators, which *Tarquin* the Ancient, his Grandfather, had admitted into the Senate; and that to draw them to his Side, he put them in mind, that they held their Dignities wholly of his Family; and that now they ought to ſhew him their Ac-

knowledgment; *admonere paterni beneficii & pro eo gratiam repetere:* An Acknowledgment which he wou'd have had no Title to expect, if their Admission into the Senate had depended upon the Voices of the Multitude; and *Tarquin* the Ancient had had only his single Vote in that Election, like the rest of the Senators.

That Prince, or to speak more truly, that Tyrant, after having possessed himself of the Throne, in the manner which every body knows; put to death, or banished, such Senators as he was apprehensive of, either upon account of their Power or Wealth: And he wou'd not fill up their Places, says *Livy*, to the end that the Society might fall into Contempt by their Fewness; *numero immunito*, says he, *statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset:* So that the Nomination of the Senators appears, by him, to have lain in that Prince. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* does indeed differ here from *Livy*; for after relating the same Fact, and the Death or Banishment of a great many Senators, he says directly, that *Tarquin* did fill their Places with his own Creatures, and in a manner made up with them a new Senate. But notwithstanding the Contrariety of the Facts, nothing appears in either of them in Derogation of the Right and Prerogative of Kings: And whether *Tarquin* wou'd not substitute other Senators in the room of those he had slain or exiled, as *Livy* relates it; or whether he supplied their Places with his Adherents, as *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* tells us: Still in both Historians mention is made of the Prince's Authority only; and that is all we wanted, as to the Nomination of the Senators.

Lastly, *Livy* confirms his Opinion in the Speech which he puts into the Mouth of a certain Tribune of the People, named *Canuleius*, who was for revoking one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables,

bles, which forbad all Alliance between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*. That Tribune upbraids the former with being descended most of them from *Albans* or *Sabines*: You do not owe your Nobility, says he, to your Origin; but to your Ancestors having been admitted into the Senate, either by the Choice of our Kings, or by the Will and Pleasure of the People, since their Expulsion; *aut ab Regibus lecti, aut post Reges exactos, jussu populi.*

That Tribune, or the Historian that speaks for him, distinguishes two Æras, and two different Methods of Election. He says, that during the Reigns of the Kings, those Princes disposed of the Places in the Senate, *aut ab Regibus lecti*; and at the same time he maintains, that after the Expulsion of the Kings, that Right devolved to the People: But this last Proposition is not without great Difficulties, as we shall shew.

We are now come to the Establishment of the Commonwealth, which the Author of the *Memorial* makes the Date and Beginning of his Doubts: The Question is, says he, *What was then the common and regular Method of Admission into the Senate?* If we will believe *Livy*, in the Passage above quoted, the Suffrages of the People determined it, *jussu populi*. *Cicero*, so well vers'd in the Laws and Usages of his own Country, declares himself of the same Opinion: 'Twas, says he, the whole Body of the People that made Choice of those who shou'd sit in that supreme Council, *deligerentur in id Consilium ab universo populo*. Here indeed we have the Right of this Election ascribed wholly to the People, by the Testimony of the two most celebrated Writers in the Republic; but unluckily the Facts and Examples are directly contrary to this Notion; and what is most singular, *Livy* himself furnishes us with most of those Examples, without saying any thing to lessen the Cre-

Orat. pro Sextio.

dit of the Facts he relates, and without ſo much as mentioning the Rights of the People.

We read in that Hiſtorian, that after the Expulſion of the Kings, and *Collatinus*'s Abdication of the Conſulſhip, *Brutus*, then ſole Conſul, finding the Senate conſiderably diminiſhed by *Tarquin*'s Cruelties, fill'd it with new Members, and increaſed the Number of the Fathers to three hundred; which we are told he choſe out of the Order of Knights. So that we ſee it was not the Commons that named the Senators in the firſt Age of the Commonwealth. Here is the firſt Conſul that ever the *Romans* had, and then without a Collegue, exerciſing this Power without Oppoſition or Contradiction: *Cædibus*, ſays *Livy*, *diminutum Patrum numerum ad trecentorum ſummam explevit.* We are now to reconcile this Paſſage in *Livy*'s firſt Book with the Speech of *Canuleius* the Tribune, which we find in the fourth of the firſt Decad.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, who almoſt conſtantly relates the ſame Facts, but with different Circumſtances, ſays, that even at the time of this Promotion, *Valerius* was *Brutus*'s Collegue; and he adds, that thoſe two Conſuls took the new Senators out of the Body of the People, *præcipuos ex plebe allegerunt.* *Plutarch* relates the ſame Fact after a third manner; he affirms, that *Valerius* was then ſole Conſul; and that for fear his future Collegue might hinder him in the Execution of the Deſign he had laid, he made haſte to name the Senators that ſhou'd fill the vacant Places in the Senate: But tho' theſe three Hiſtorians differ in the Circumſtances of the Fact, we find nothing in them in favour of the Rights of the People. The Conſul is ſtill the Perſon that makes the Nomination; and as to the main of the Queſtion, it is indifferent whether that Conſul's Name is *Brutus* or *Valerius*.

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It is very probable that the Consuls, who succeeded the Kings in the Sovereign Power, *Regio imperio duo sunto*, who had all the Ensigns of it, the Lictors, the Robe bordered with Purple, the Curule Chair, and the Sceptre or Staff of Ivory; that those great Magistrates, I say, the Heads of the Senate, and natural and rightful Generals of the Armies, and who, indeed, differed from the Kings in nothing, but that their Authority was divided, and only annual, succeeded to the Right those Princes enjoy'd, of supplying the Vacancies in the Senate.

But these Consuls being afterwards too much taken up with Wars Abroad, which often kept them from *Rome*; the Right of nominating the Senators fell from the Consuls to the Censors, a new Magistracy created the 311th Year of *Rome*, only sixty six Years after the Establishment of the Commonwealth.

We are told, that these new Magistrates were at first set up only for taking the Number of the *Roman* People, which was then called the *Census*, a Custom instituted by King *Servilius Tullius*. But as Authority naturally seeks to enlarge it self, the *Censors* by insensible degrees assumed to themselves the Reformation of the three Orders of the Commonwealth, and afterwards they engrossed the Right of nominating the Senators, and even of expelling from the Senate such as they thought unworthy of their Seats; of taking away the Horse and Gold Ring from such Knights as had not done their Duty, and of degrading into the lower Tribes, such of the People who led irregular Lives. History is full of Instances of this Authority in the *Censors*, who by a wholesome Terror, restrained the several Orders of the State within the Bounds of their Duty. We shall not enter farther into the various Functions of this great Office, which was looked upon among the *Romans*, as the Pinacle of all

all the Honours a Citizen cou'd arrive at; but keep to the Question proposed. It appears then to me, by all that I can find in the Historians of that Nation, that the *Censors* succeeded the Consuls in the Nomination of the Senators, as the Consuls before succeeded the Kings in the same Prerogative: But whether those Princes, or those Magistrates, made that Nomination without the Concurrence of the People; or whether the People themselves elected the Senators, as they did their other Magistrates, is what we shall be better able to judge of, by what we are going to produce, in order to reconcile two Opinions that seem so opposite.

Paulus Manutius pretends, that the Kings, the Consuls, and the Censors, had indeed the Right of proposing to the Assembly of the People such as they thought worthy to fill the Vacancies in the Senate; but that the Election of them lay in the People, whose Votes were however confined to those whom their Magistrates had proposed to them; a Conjecture so much the weaker, as it is supported by no one Proof: Unless we will allow the Republic's Custom, of admitting no Magistrate but by the way of Election, to be a Proof. Not but that the People may in some manner be said to have opened the Doors of the Senate to those who were raised to the *Curule* Magistracies by their Voices; because those great Dignities not only gave a Seat in the Senate to those who enjoyed this during the Year, but they also still retained it, even after their Office was expired; and the *Censors*, when they filled the vacant Places in the Senate, were obliged to inscribe them first, and each according to his Rank, in the Roll of the Senators. And perhaps it may be of this particular Part of the People's Privilege, that we are to understand what *Canuleius* and *Cicero* have left

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us, in Terms too general, of the People's Power in the Nomination of the Senators.

Thus the Dictator, *M. Fabius Buteo*, in the Second *Punic* War, in an extraordinary Emergency, when he was obliged to perform the Function of *Cenſor*, after having called the ancient Senators each by Name, did appoint to ſupply the Places of the Dead, firſt, ſays *Livy*, ſuch as ſince the Cenſorſhip of *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius* had held any *Curule* Dignity, and had not yet been inſerted in the Roll of Senators, though their Offices gave them Admiſſion into the Senate: *Recitato vetere Senatu, inde primum in mortuorum locum legit qui poſt L. Æmilium & C. Flaminium Cenſores, Curulem magiſtratum cœpiſſent, nec dùm in ſenatum lecti eſſent*, &c.

But from this very Example, ſays the Author of the Memorial, and from the Cenſorſhip of a *Dictator*, we may infer that the *Romans* had no common and regular Method of ſupplying the Vacancies in the Senate, ſince they had Recourſe to the extraordinary Power of a *Dictator*.

We may anſwer, * that on the contrary, this Example being extraordinary and ſingular, is the very Reaſon why nothing can be inferred from it, againſt the Power of the *Cenſors* alone to name the Senators. Can any Man affirm with the leaſt Foundation, that it was not a common and regular Cuſtom in the Republic, to chuſe the Tribunes of the People only out of the Body of the *Plebeians*, becauſe upon one ſingle Occaſion, under the Conſulſhip of *L. Valerius*, and *M. Horatius*, we find in the Tribuneſhip *Sp. Tarpeïus*, and *A. Haterius*, both *Patricians*, old Senators, and even Conſulars, whom the Senate had politicly got into that Office, to croſs the ill Deſigns of the other Tribunes, *duos etiam Patricios*, ſays *Livy*, *Conſulareſque*, *Sp. Tarpeïum & Aulum Heterium cooptavêre*. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. c. 65.

* This is an Anſwer to the third Queſtion. See above, *p.* 4.

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It is certain there is no State so strongly attached to its Form of Government, but in some certain Conjunctures it is forced to bear with several Alterations. Such was then the Case with the *Roman* Commonwealth: Four great Defeats, receiv'd from the *Carthaginians*, had exhausted the best of her Blood. They particularly, says *Livy*, bewailed the Loss of Eighty Citizens, part Senators, part such as had enjoyed Offices, after the Expiration of which, in the next *Census*, they were to have been inscribed in the Number of Senators. The State wanted Soldiers; they had been obliged to List their very Slaves; and *Hannibal* was at the Gates of *Rome*. The few Senators that remained, oppressed with the Weight of Affairs, call'd for a Supply of Collegues in the room of those Senators that fell in this fierce War. It is probable the two last Censors, *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius*, had either been slain in those bloody Engagements, or were out of their Office. No Expedient was left to supply the want of Censors, but in the Person of *M. Junius Pera*, then Dictator, a Post which seems to have eminently included all the other Dignities in the Commonwealth. But as that great Magistrate was then distant from *Rome*, commanding the Army against *Hannibal*, *L. Terentius Varro*, first Consul, was ordered to repair to *Rome*, and name a Second Dictator, that might perform the Function of the Censors upon this Occasion; and it was agreed, in order to preserve the ancient Form of Government as much as possible, that the Consul shou'd name none but the oldest of those who had been Censors; so that when *Varro* nominated *M. Fabius Buteo* to be Dictator, he might more properly be said to give the Republic the first and oldest of the *Censors*, than a Dictator to perform that Office. And to make this new Magistrate sensible that he had nothing of the Dictatorship but the Name,

he was expreſly forbid the Nomination of a General of the Horſe, a Prerogative in a manner inſeparable from the Dictator, whoſe Lieutenant that Officer was look'd upon to be.

Livy relates, that this Dictator, after his Nomination, aſcending the *Roſtrum*, declared plainly to the Aſſembly, that he cou'd neither approve of two Dictators at the ſame time, which was never ſeen in the Republic before, nor of his being made Dictator, without having Liberty to name his General of the Horſe: that it was no leſs extraordinary, to have one ſingle Citizen appointed to do the Buſineſs of two Cenſors; and that this Dignity, contrary to Cuſtom, ſhou'd be twice beſtowed upon the ſame Perſon. That however, notwithſtanding theſe Irregularities, he wou'd endeavour to behave himſelf in the Adminiſtration of his Office, with all the Caution that the Calamity of the Times, their preſent Fortune, and the Neceſſity of Affairs wou'd admit of. Dec. 3. l. 3. c. 7.

This Dictator then nominated one hundred ſeventy ſeven Citizens to be Senators, beginning, as we ſaid before, with thoſe that had enjoyed the *Curule* Dignities; and he made a Choice, ſays *Livy*, which was equally approved of by all the Orders of the Commonwealth; *Centum ſeptuaginta ſeptem cum ingenti approbatione omnium in ſenatum lectis*, a Proof that this Choice was wholly his own Work. For if the Nomination of the Senators had depended upon the Voices of the Multitude, it would have been ridiculous to have given Praiſes to the Dictator, for a Choice which was none of his making. And to ſhew that the Blame, as well as the Praiſe of theſe Choices, fell upon the Cenſors; we read that *Appius Claudius*, and *Plautius*, his Collegue in the Cenſorſhip, having filled the vacant Places in the Senate with the Sons of Freedmen; *C. Junius Bulbulcus*, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, the Conſuls for the following Year, moved

moved with Indignation to see so august an Assembly dishonoured by the Censors with such a Choice, annulled this Election of the Censors; and without any Regard to the last Nomination, caused the Senators to be called anew, according to the ancient Roll, and in the same Order that they stood before the Censorship of *Appius* and *Plautius*. Neither *Fabius Buteo* wou'd have deserved the Praises that were bestowed upon him, nor *Appius Claudius* and *Plautius* the Shame they were loaded with, if the Appointment of the new Senators had depended upon the Votes of the Multitude.

We see therefore that the extraordinary Example of *M. Fabius Buteo*, raised to the Dictatorship only to fill the Vacancies in the Senate, amounts to no Consequence against the Prerogative of the Censors to make that Nomination. And if we except this one Instance, and such as happened in the tumultuous Times of the *Gracchi*, and during the Civil Wars; we shall not find, that from the very Foundation of *Rome*, any but the Kings, or the Consuls and Censors, who succeeded them in this part of the Government, ever appointed such Citizens of the Republic as should supply the Vacancies in the Senate.

I excepted the Tribuneship of the *Gracchi* out of my general Proposition; because we are told, that *Caius* the younger of them brought a great Number of Knights into the Senate, others ascribe this extraordinary Nomination to *Livius Drusus* another Tribune. There are even some who pretend that this is only meant of particular Magistrates to dispense Justice to the People. I shall not enter into this Dispute, which wou'd require a Dissertation by it self.

I shall only observe, that *Sylla* and *Marius*, the Leaders in the first Civil War, filled the Senate with their Creatures; that *Julius Cæsar* carried his

his Uſurpation yet further, and brought into it not only the Sons of Freedmen, but even Barbarians, nay, Quacks too and Soothſayers. That afterwards the *Triumvirs* having exhauſted that venerable Body by their cruel Proſcriptions, did in their turn crowd it with their Ruffians; ſo that after *Auguſtus* had rid himſelf of his two Collegues in the *Triumvirate*, the Senate was found to conſiſt of above a thouſand Senators, moſt of them unworthy of that great Title, and who had purchaſed it with Money, or the Price of Villany. That Prince, now abſolute Maſter of the Empire, reſolved to purge that illuſtrious Society of ſo many baſe Members. *Senatorum numerum*, ſays *Suetonius*, *deformi & incondita turba*, *erant enim ſuprà mille & quidam indigniſſimi*, *& poſt necem Cæſaris per gratiam & præmium allecti*, *quos Orcinos* [others have it, *Abortivos*] *vulgus vocabat*, *ad modum priſtinum & ſplendorem redegit.* *Auguſtus* having driven theſe Scoundrels out of the Senate, allowed thoſe Senators that remained to name each of them another. But not being ſatisfied with this Election, wherein Friendſhip, Conſanguinity, and perhaps Intereſt too, had a greater Share than Merit; he made a ſecond Choice, in which he conſulted none but *Agrippa*; *duabus lectionibus*, *primâ ipſorum arbitratu*, *quo vir virum legit*; *ſecundâ ſuo & Agrippæ*: A Proof that this Prince had taken to himſelf the Authority exerciſed before by the Cenſors, the Conſuls, and the Kings of *Rome*. Suet. c. 35.

His Succeſſors in the Empire looked upon the Authority of the Cenſors, as a Part of the Imperial Dignity: and *Decius* naming *Valerianus* to be Cenſor, and explaining to him all the Prerogatives and Rights of ſo eminent an Office; *Valerianus*, like an artful Courtier, made Anſwer, that thoſe Prerogatives belonged to no body but the Emperor;

Trebellius Pollio.

ror; *hæc sunt propter quæ Augustum nomen tenetis apud vos censura desedit.*

Let us now proceed to the second Question proposed, namely, why the Senate, consisting of none but *Patricians then*, that is, as the Author of the *Memorial* asserts, in the Four or Five first Ages of the Republic, there should be some *Patricians* that were Senators, and other *Patricians* mere private Men, and not partaking of that Dignity? We are asked, Whether this Distinction arose by Succession and Birthright, or whether the Choice of the Senators depended absolutely upon the Consuls, and afterwards upon the Censors?

In order to answer this Question, we must look back upon what we have related upon *Livy*'s Authority, of the Institution of the first Senators. *Romulus*, according to that Historian, created but an hundred; either, says he, because he thought that Number sufficient, or because he cou'd chuse out but so many that had all the Qualifications requisite in a Senator; *sive quia is numerus satis erat; sive quia soli centum erant qui creari Patres possint.* *Livy* adds, that those hundred Senators were called *Fathers*, by way of Reverence; and their Children and Descendents *Patricians*; *Patriciique progenies eorum appellati*; the Origin of the first and cleareſt Nobility among the *Romans*. Some Authors relate, that those first *Patricians* wore Crescents upon their Shoes; others say, the Letter C, to shew that they descended from the *hundred* (in *Latin Centum*) first Senators: The Children and Descendents of those first hundred Senators quickly multiplied, and produced several Branches of *Patricians*. At first the Senators, the Priests, and all those who had the chief Inspection over the Affairs of Religion, were chosen out of this Body only. But those Employments, and especially the Dignity of Senator, did not

not devolve by Right of Succeſſion: It is true, it was requiſite to be a *Patrician* in order to be a Senator; but as the Number of *Patricians* quickly exceeded that at which the Senate was fix'd, all the *Patricians* cou'd not poſſibly be Senators. As we ſee that all the *Venetian* Nobles are not Senators, tho' a Man cannot be choſen a Senator unleſs he is a *Venetian* Noble: So at *Rome* it was not alone ſufficient to be a *Patrician*, to be admitted into the Senate. Birth gave the firſt of thoſe Qualifications, but it was Merit only that procured the ſecond. In order to be admitted into that auguſt Society, a Man muſt have given eminent Proofs of his Valour in War, and of his Capacity in Buſineſs in Times of Peace; the Choice which the Kings made of Senators, proves that this Dignity did not depend upon a lineal and conſanguineous Succeſſion; nay, e'er long, and even under the Kings of *Rome*, the Blood of thoſe firſt *Patrician* Families was not ſo ſcrupulouſly regarded; and if any Stranger at *Rome*, or any *Plebeians*, were remarkable for their Merit, the Stranger was firſt made a Citizen; and then to give either the Stranger or the *Plebeian* a Right of Entrance into the Senate, they were declared *Patricians*. Thus *Ancus Martius*, the fourth King of *Rome*, being very much byaſs'd in favour of the Merit and Valour of a *Tuſcan*, named *Lucumo*, loaded him with Honours, made him firſt General of the Horſe, then *Patrician*, and afterwards Senator. It was to avoid the open Violation of the Cuſtom of admitting none into the Senate, but the Deſcendants of the firſt hundred Senators, that they gave the Strangers or *Plebeians* the Name of *Patricians*. The ſame *Lucumo* having afterwards attain'd the Crown, with the Name of *Tarquin* the Ancient, by the Favour of the People, did, that he might preſerve their Affection, chuſe out of that Order a hundred Senators, which he added to the Senate; and, af-

ter the Example of *Ancus Martius*, he endeavour'd to soften the Resentment which this Innovation might breed in the *Patricians*, by first ennobling, as it were, the *Plebeians*, by giving them that Name.

Patricios fecit, says *Livy*, *& in senatum numerum cooptavit.* This King might, indeed, grant those *Plebeians* the Privileges of the *Patricians*, and give them Admission into the Senate; but I don't see how he could declare a Man the Descendant of one of the hundred first Senators, that was not at all related to them, but was of a mean, obscure Family; and whatever Authority may be ascrib'd to the Sovereign Power, it is hard to conceive how a King can at once put a Stop to the vulgar Blood that runs in a *Plebeian*'s Veins, and fill them with a new Supply more noble and more pure. And accordingly, as those *Plebeians* were *Patricians* only nominally, and by a kind of a Law, they were call'd, *The added Fathers*, or *Patricians of a lower Degree*; *Patres conscripti, minorum gentium*: Whereas the Families of the first hundred Senators, and the true *Patricians*, assumed the Title *majorum gentium*, that is to say, of Grandees, and of illustrious Families. Which answers to what we call in *France* the prime Nobility, *Optimates*; tho' it is not easy to determine now, whether that Title, which so many People adorn themselves with, consists in a Nobility so ancient, that its Origin is unknown, or in actual Dignities which suppose, but do not always prove, a true Nobility.

These Distinctions ceas'd among the *Romans* soon after the Expulsion of the Kings. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* tells us, that the *Plebeians* taking the Advantage of *Coriolanus*'s Banishment about the 260th Year of *Rome*, introduced themselves into the Senate, and shared with the *Patricians* the Dignities which before were peculiar to the first

first Order of the Commonwealth. Other Authors defer the Entrance of the *Plebeians* into the Senate to the Time of the Creation of the *Decemvirs*, about the 301st Year of *Rome*, and only 56 after the Establishment of the Republic. After that time, all Rank and Nobility went by the Right of Images, that is to say, by the Curule Offices that had been in any Family; and a Citizen, tho' a *Plebeian* originally, was nevertheless reckon'd very noble, if his Ancestors had been invested with the chief Dignities of the State.

Rome, which at first knew but two sorts of Citizens, was then divided into three different Orders, which *Ausonius* comprehends in this Verse,

Martia Roma triplex, equitatu, plebe, senatu.

The Knights were originally part of the People, but the most considerable Part of them; in like manner as the Senators were taken out of the Body of the *Patricians*, and by their Dignity were the chief of their Order. But when all the Honours of the Republic were become common among all the Citizens, Wealth alone came by degrees to make the whole Distinction; it was determin'd how much a Citizen should be worth to be inscrib'd in the Roll of Knights, or being a Knight, to be qualify'd for Senator. *Senatorum gradum*, says *Seneca*, *Census ascendere facit*. The *Patricians* were included in these Regulations, as well as the other Citizens; and whatever their Merit might be in other Respects, it was the Goods of Fortune that decided their Rank. Such young *Patricians* as happen'd to be rich, were first placed in the Order of Knights, from whence the Censors afterwards chose out the most worthy to raise them to the Dignity of Senators; and those poor *Patricians* who had not Wealth enough to be taken into the Order of Knights, or to be admitted into the

Senate, remained mingled with the Common People, while they saw *Plebeians*, because wealthy, adorn'd with the Gold-ring, in Quality of Knights; or cloath'd with the Purple Robe, and filling the vacant Places in the Senate; *Senator non es*, says *Onuphrius Panvinius*, *ergo eques aut de populo: neque senator, neque eques quamvis Patricius, ergo de populo, ordo enim præterea nullus supereſt.*



THE


SARMATIA EUROPÆA
SARMATIA alii SARMATÆ seu SAUROMATÆ
EUROPA
PONTUS EUXINUS
Constantinople
Græcia
ASIA MINOR
PONTICA
ARMENIA
Creta Ins.
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
Alexandria
Nili Ostia
AFRICA
AEGYPTUS
Deserta ARABIA
Deserta
ARABIA
SINUS ARABICUS
Memphis
Antinoe
Jaicopolis
Oasis magna
Apollinis
Danubius fl.
Tanais fl.
Thermodon fl.
Rhodus I.
Cyprus
Damascus
Thadmor
Darcon
Babylon
Ecbatana
Hecatompylos
Rhagæ
Tarsus
M. Sinai
Pharan
Elana
Madian seu Modiana
Thebæ seu Diospolis mag.
Syene
Trapezus
Amasia
Nicomedia
Nicæa
Ancyra
Pharnacia
Sinope
Bithynia
Prusa
Cyzicus
Troas
Ilium
Lesbos
Rhodus
Cos
Halicarnassus
Ephesus
Smyrna
Pergamus
Sardes
Philadelphia
Laodicea
Colossæ
Tarsus
Issus
Seleucia
Tripolis
Berytus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Joppe
Hierosolyma
Jericho
Gaza
Pelusium
Alexandria
Nili Ostia
Artaxata
Theodosia
Dioscurias
Phasis
Apsarus
Trapezus
Amisus
Sinope
Heraclea
Cotiæa
Nicomedia
Nicæa


A NEW MAP of
The EASTERN PART
of the
ROMAN EMPIRE
Before Its Declention.
SARMATIA ASIATICA
SCYTHIA INTER IMAUM
MARE CASPIUM
HYRCANIA
MARGIANA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
PARTHIA
PERSARUM
REG.
PERSIS
CARAMANIA
GEDROSIA
ARACHOSIA
INDIA
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE ERYTHRÆUM
ARABIA FELIX

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK I.

Romulus *the Founder and firſt King of* Rome, *is at the ſame time Head of its Religion, and eſtabliſhes divers Laws with the Conſent of his Subjects. He numbers the Citizens, whom he divides into three Tribes. Each Tribe is afterwards divided into Ten Curia's or Companies. The Eſtabliſhment of the Senate, and of the Order of Knights. The Nature of the* Plebeians. *The* Sabins, *after a very ſharp War, make a ſtrict Alliance with the* Romans, *and live under the ſame Laws. The Death of* Romulus. Numa *ſucceeds him.*

He makes Use of Religion to soften the rugged Manners of the Inhabitants of the City of Rome. *The Battel of the* Horatii *and* Curiatii *under* Tullus Hostilius. Alba *destroy'd. Its Inhabitants removed to* Rome. Ancus Martius *ordains Ceremonies to precede Declarations of War. He defeats the* Latins, *and joins their Territory to that of* Rome. Tarquin the Ancient *is chosen King by the Voices of the Chief among the People, whom he had gained over to his Side. He increases the Number of the Senators with a Hundred of his Creatures. The Institution of the Census by* Servius Tullius. *That Prince is murthered by* Tarquin the Proud, *who seizes the Royalty without the Consent either of the People or Senate. His Ambition and Cruelty create a general Discontent, which the Lust of* Sextus Tarquin *his Son, and the Death of* Lucretia, *turn into a general Revolt. The* Tarquins *are expell'd, and the Royalty proscribed. The Republican State succeeds the Monarchical. They chuse Two Annual Magistrates, whom they call* Consuls. *The Division, which soon after happens between the People and the Senate, makes it necessary to create a new Office superior to the Consulship, which is the* Dictature. *The Dissentions cease for some time; but afterwards they break out afresh, and go so far that the greatest Part of the People leave the City and retire to the* Mons Sacer, *nor do they come back again to* Rome *till they obtain a general Abolition of all Debts, and the Creation of the* Tribunes of the People.

A PRINCE of uncertain Birth, nurſed by a Proſtitute, brought up by Shepherds, and afterwards the Leader of a Gang of Robbers, laid the firſt Foundations of the Capital of the World. He conſecrated it to the God of War, from whom he would have it thought he ſprung; and admitted for its Inhabitants all ſorts of Men, and from all Parts, *Greeks*, *Latins*, *Albans* and *Tuſcans*, moſt of them Shepherds and Robbers; but all Fellows of reſolute Valour. An *Aſylum* which he opened for the Protection of Slaves and Outlaws, drew thither great Numbers, to which he afterwards added his Priſoners of War; and thus made Fellow-Citizens of his Enemies.

First Year of Rome, *about the* 3301*ſt Year of the World, and the* 4*th of the* 6*th Olympiad.* 753 *before the Birth of our Saviour.*

Tit. Liv. l. 1. D. 1. c. 8.

Rome at the Beginning was not ſo much a City, as a Camp of Soldiers, compoſed of little Huts, and ſurrounded with ſlight Walls, without Civil Laws, without Magiſtrates, and ſerved only for a Place of Security to Men of deſperate Fortunes, moſt of them without Wives or Children, whom Impunity or Hopes of Booty had drawn together. The Conquerors of the Univerſe owed their Origin to a Neſt of Thieves.

Origin of Rome.

Scarce was this growing City raiſed above its Foundation, when its firſt Inhabitants thought it expedient immediately to put the Government into ſome Form. Their chief View was to reconcile Liberty with Empire; and to effect it they eſtabliſh'd a kind of mix'd Monarchy, and divided the Sovereign Power between the Head or Prince of the Nation, a Senate that was to be his Council, and the Aſſembly of the People. ROMULUS, the Founder of *Rome*, was choſen for its firſt King;

Romulus *King.*

Dion. Hal. l. 2. p. 81. King; he was at the ſame time acknowledg'd the Head of their Religion, the chief Magiſtrate of the City, and natural General of the State. Beſides a great Number of Guards, he had twelve *Lictors*, a kind of Uſhers, that always attended him when he appeared in Public. Each Lictor was armed with a Battle-Axe, ſurrounded with a Bundle of Rods, to ſhew his Right of the Sword, the Symbol of Sovereignty. But with all this Pomp of Royalty, his Power was confined to very narrow Limits; and he had little more Authority than to call together the Senate and the Aſſemblies of the People; to propoſe Affairs to them; to march at the Head of the Army when War was reſolved upon by a public Decree; and to give Directions about the Diſpoſal of the Public Money, which was under the Care of two Treaſurers, afterwards called *Queſtors*.

Liv. c. 8.

What the Lictors were.

Dion. l. 2. Plut. in Rom.

Romulus *makes Laws.*

The firſt Buſineſs of the new Prince was to make ſeveral Laws concerning Religion and Civil Government, all equally neceſſary for maintaining Society among Men, which nevertheleſs were not publiſh'd without the Conſent of the whole *Roman* People. It is not well known what was the Form of Worſhip in thoſe remote Ages. We only learn from Hiſtory, that the Religion of the firſt *Romans* had a great deal of Conformity with their Origin. They celebrated the Feaſt of the Goddeſs *Palès*, one of the tutelar Deities of Shepherds. *Pan* the God of Foreſts had alſo his Altars among them; he was honoured in the Feſtival called *Lupercalia*, or *of the Wolves*, in which they offered him a Dog. *Plutarch* mentions a God called *Conſus*, who preſided over Councils: he had no other Temple than a Grotto cut out under Ground; a myſtic turn has ſince been given to that which perhaps was then a meer Effect of Chance or Neceſſity, and

Religion of the firſt Romans.

Plut. in Rom.

and we are made to believe that this Temple was contrived under Ground, only to teach Men that the Deliberations of Councils ſhould be ſecret.

But the chief Religion of thoſe rude Times lay in the *Augurs* and *Aruſpices*, that is to ſay, in the Prognoſtics which were drawn from the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beaſts. The Prieſts and Sacrificers perſuaded the People, that in theſe they plainly read the Deſtinies of Men. This *pious* Fraud, which owed its Eſtabliſhment to nothing but the Ignorance of thoſe firſt Ages, afterwards became one of the Myſteries of State, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the Courſe of this Hiſtory: And 'tis ſaid that ROMULUS himſelf wou'd needs be the firſt *Augur* of *Rome*, for fear ſome other, by the help of thoſe Superſtitions, ſhou'd get Poſſeſſion of the Confidence of the Multitude. He decreed, by a Law made purpoſely for that End, that no Election ſhou'd be enter'd upon, nor any Perſon, for the future, raiſed to the Royal Dignity, to the Prieſthood, or to any of the public Magiſtracies, nor any War undertaken, 'till the Auſpices had firſt been conſulted. It was in the ſame Spirit of Religion, and with very wiſe Policy, that he forbad all Worſhip of foreign Deities, which might have bred Diviſions among his new Subjects. The Prieſthood, by the ſame Law, was to be for Life. A Prieſt could not be elected 'till the Age of fifty Years. ROMULUS prohibited their mixing Fables among the Myſteries of Religion, or giving them a falſe Luſtre, under Pretence of making them more venerable to the People. They were bound to be acquainted with the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country, and to write the principal Events that happened in the State: Thus they were its firſt Hiſtorians and firſt Lawyers.

Cic. l. 3. de Leg.

Id. l. 31. de Nat. Deor.

Dion. l. 2.

We

Laws of *Romulus*. Gellius. c. 23.

We have remaining in History, some few Fragments of the Civil Laws made by ROMULUS. The first relates to married Women; it decrees that they shall not leave their Husbands upon any Pretence whatsoever, at the same time that it allows the Men to put them away, and even to punish them with Death, with the Concurrence of their Relations, if they were convicted of Adultery, poisoning, making false Keys, or only drinking Wine. ROMULUS thought it necessary to make this severe Law to prevent Adultery, which he look'd upon to be a second Drunkenness, and, as it were, a natural Effect of that dangerous Liquor: But nothing ever equall'd the Cruelty of the Laws which he settled relating to Children. He gave their Fathers an absolute Power over their Lives and Fortunes; they might by their private Authority lock them up, put them to Death, and even sell them for Slaves three times over, whatever Age they were of, or whatever Dignities they had attained: A Father was the chief Magistrate over his own Children; he had Liberty to make away with those that were born with any monstrous Deformity; but before he did it, he was obliged to take Counsel with five of his nearest Neighhours; the Law left him more at Liberty as to a Daughter, provided she were not the eldest; and if he neglected either of these Ordinances, half his Effects were confiscate into the public Treasury. ROMULUS, who was not to learn that the Power of a State consists not so much in its Extent, as in the Number of its Inhabitants, by the same Law made it criminal to kill, or so much as sell, an Enemy in War if he yielded. The Design of his Wars was only to conquer Men, being sure he should never want Lands, while he had Troops sufficient to possess themselves of them.

Dion. H. Plut. Instit. Justin. l. 1.

Dion. H. l. 2.

It

It was to know his own Strength, that he numb-
ber'd all the Citizens of *Rome*. There was found Dion. l. 2.
to be but Three Thouſand Foot, and about Three
Hundred Horſe. ROMULUS divided them all Romulus
into three equal *Tribes*, and aſſigned to each a part *numbers the Citi-*
of the City to inhabit: Each Tribe was afterwards *zens.*
ſubdivided into ten *Curiæ*, or Companies of an
Hundred Men, that had each a *Centurion* to com-
mand them. A Prieſt, who was called *Curio*, had
the Care of the Sacrifices, and two of the princi-
pal Inhabitants, called *Duumviri*, diſtributed Ju-
ſtice between Man and Man.

ROMULUS having undertaken ſo great a De- *Territory of*
ſign, as that of founding a State, caſt about how Rome *di-*
he might ſecure the Subſiſtance of his new People. *vided.*
Rome, built upon a foreign Ground, and which
originally depended upon the City of *Alba*, had but
a very narrow Territory: It is affirm'd, that it was V. Strabo.
at moſt but five or ſix Miles. Nevertheleſs the l. V.
Prince ſhared it into three Parts, which it is true
were unequal. The firſt was conſecrated to the
Worſhip of the Gods; another was reſerved for
the Revenue of the King and the Uſes of the
State; the moſt conſiderable part was divided into
thirty Portions, to anſwer to the thirty *Curiæ*; and
each private Man had no more than two Acres for Dion. H.
his Subſiſtance. l. 2.

The Eſtabliſhment of the *Senate* ſucceeded this *The Senate*
Partition; ROMULUS made it up of a Hundred *eſtabliſh'd,*
of the chief Citizens; the Number was after- *and what*
wards increaſed, as we ſhall obſerve in its pro- *it was.*
per Place. The King named the firſt *Senator*, Id. Ibid.
and ordained that in his Abſence he ſhou'd have
the Government of the City; each Tribe elected
three, and each of the thirty *Curiæ* three more;
which compleated the number of an hundred
Senators, who were to be at the ſame time the
King's Miniſters, and the Protectors of the Peo-
ple:

ple: Functions no less noble than hard to execute well.

All Affairs of Importance were brought before the Senate. The Prince, as Head, did indeed preside in it; but still all Questions were decided by Plurality of Voices, and he had no more than his single Vote, like a private Senator. *Rome*, next to her King, saw nothing so great and honourable as her Senators; they were called Fathers, (*Patres*) and their Descendants *Patricians*, the Origin of the first Nobility among the *Romans*. They gave the Senators this Name of Fathers, either upon account of their Age, or the Cares they underwent for their Fellow-Citizens. "Those who anciently composed "the Council of the Republic, says *Salust*, had "indeed Bodies enfeebled by Years, but their "Minds were strengthned by Wisdom and Ex-"perience. All Civil and Military Dignities, those of the Priesthood itself, belong'd to the *Patricians*, exclusive of the *Plebeians*. The People indeed had private Magistrates, that dispens'd Justice among them; but those Magistrates received their Orders from the Senate, which was look'd upon to be the supream and living Law of the State, the Guardian and Defender of their Liberty.

Liv. l. 1. c. 8.

Cat. Consp.

The Order of Knights. Dion. H. l. 2.

The *Romans*, after having established their Senate, made another Draught out of each *Curia*, of ten Horsemen; these were called *Celeres*, either from their first Captain whose Name was *Celer*, or else upon account of their Celerity or Swiftness, and because they seemed to fly to execute the Orders they received: ROMULUS made these his Guard. They fought indifferently on Foot or on Horse-back, says *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, according to the Occasion and Disposition of the Ground, not unlike our *Dragoons*: The State

State found them a Horſe, from whence they were called *Equites*, and they were diſtinguiſh'd by a Gold Ring; but afterwards, when their Number was increaſed, this military Function became a meer Title of Honour, and the Knights were no more bound to be Soldiers than the other Citizens. On the contrary, we ſhall ſee them take upon them to collect the Tributes, under the Name of *Publicans*, and to farm the Revenues of the Commonwealth; and tho' they were *Plebeians*, they were a kind of middle Order between the *Patricians* and the People.

Order of the Plebeians.

The third Order of the State conſiſted of the *Plebeians*. Of all the People in the World, the proudeſt, even in their Original, and the moſt jealous of their Liberty, were the *Roman* Populace.

This laſt Order, tho' chiefly made up of Shepherds and Slaves, wou'd have their Share in the Government as well as the two former. It was they that confirmed the Laws, which had been digeſted by the King and Senate; and themſelves in their Aſſemblies gave the Orders which they themſelves executed. Every thing relating to Peace and War, the Creation of Magiſtrates, the Election of the King himſelf depended upon their Suffrages. The Senate only reſerv'd to themſelves the Power of approving or rejecting their Schemes, which, without that Reſtraint and the Aſſiſtance of their Wiſdom, wou'd often have been too precipitate and tumultuous.

Dion. H. l. 2.

Such was the fundamental Conſtitution of this State, neither purely Monarchical, nor entirely Republican: The King, the Senate, and the People, were in a ſort of mutual Dependance, from whence reſulted a Balance of Authority which moderated that of the Prince, and at the ſame time ſecured the Power of the Senate, and the Liberty of the People.

ROMULUS,

The Meaning of Patron *and* Client.

ROMULUS, to prevent the Diviſions which Jealouſy, ſo natural to Mankind, might breed between Citizens of one and the ſame Republic, of whom ſome were raiſed to the Degree of Senators, and others left in the Order of the People, endeavoured to engage them one to another by reciprocal Ties and Obligations. The *Plebeians* were allow'd to chuſe *Patrons* out of the Body of the Senate, who were oblig'd to aſſiſt them with their Advice and Power; and they, on their Parts, with the Name of *Clients*, adhered upon all Occaſions to the Intereſt of their *Patrons*. If the Senator were not rich, his Clients contributed towards the Portions of his Daughters, to the Payment of his Debts, or his Ranſom, if he happened to be taken Priſoner in War: And they durſt not refuſe him their Votes, if he ſtood for any Publick Office. The *Patron* and *Client* were equally reſtrained from appearing in Courts of Juſtice as Evidence againſt each other. Theſe mutual Obligations came in time to be eſteemed ſo ſacred, that thoſe who violated them were reckoned infamous; nay, and it was lawful to kill them, as Men guilty of Sacrilege.

Dion. H. l. 2.

Wives, ask'd and refus'd.

The prudent Regulations in the Government attracted new Citizens to *Rome*, from all Parts. ROMULUS made them all Soldiers, and already his State began to grow formidable to its Neighbours: The *Romans* wanted nothing but Wives to ſecure its Duration: ROMULUS ſent Deputies to demand Intermarriage with the *Sabines* and the neighbouring Nations, and to propoſe a ſtrict Alliance between them and *Rome*. The *Sabines* poſſeſs'd that Part of *Italy* which lies between the *Tyber*, the *Teveron*, and the *Apennine*: They inhabited divers little Towns, ſome of which were governed by petty Princes; and others only by Magiſtrates, by way of Republic. But tho' their particular Govern-

Governments were different, they were all united in a kind of League and Community, which formed the ſeveral Societies of that Nation into one State. Theſe People were the moſt Warlike of any in *Italy*, and bordered neareſt upon *Rome*. As they began to think ROMULUS's new Settlement might grow dangerous, they rejected this Propoſal of the *Romans*; ſome of them added Raillery to their Denial, and ask'd their Envoys, Why their Prince did not open an *Aſylum*, for wandring Women, and Slaves of that Sex, as he had done for Men? That this wou'd be their only way to make Marriages, wherein neither Party cou'd upbraid the other. Liv. l. 1. c. 9.

ROMULUS heard not this ſharp Anſwer without the quickeſt Reſentment; he reſolved to be revenged, and to take away the Daughters of the *Sabines* by Force. He communicated his Deſign to the chief among the Senate; and as moſt of them were brought up in Rapine, and were uſed to the Maxim, that *Whatever they cou'd get by Strength was their own*, they beſtow'd the higheſt Praiſes upon a Project ſo well fitted to their Character; all that was left to do, was to find a Way to ſucceed in their Enterprize: ROMULUS was of Opinion, none wou'd do better, than to celebrate ſolemn Games at *Rome* in honour of *Neptune* the Creator of the Horſe: There was always ſomewhat of Religion in thoſe Feſtivals, which were prepar'd by Sacrifices, and never ended without ſeveral kinds of Races, Wreſtling, and the like. Dion. H. l. 2.

Thoſe *Sabines* that lay neareſt to *Rome* ran thither in great Crowds, upon the Day appointed for that Solemnity, as ROMULUS foreſaw they wou'd. There came great Number of *Ceninenſes*, *Cruſtuminians*, and *Antemnates*, with their Wives and Children. They were all received by the *Romans* with great Demonſtrations of Joy; every Citizen

Citizen had his Gueſt, and after having treated them the beſt they cou'd, conducted and placed them conveniently, where they might ſee the Sports: But while theſe Strangers were taken up with the Spectacle, the *Romans*, by ROMULUS's Order, ruſh'd, Sword in Hand, into the Aſſembly, took away all their Daughters, and turned the Fathers and Mothers out of *Rome*; who complained in vain of this Violation of Hoſpitality. Their Daughters at firſt ſhed Floods of Tears, but at laſt they ſuffered themſelves to be comforted; Time ſoften'd the Averſion they had for their Raviſhers, who became their lawful Husbands. Mean while this Rape of the *Sabines* occaſioned a War that laſted ſeveral Years. The *Ceninenſes* were the firſt that ſhew'd their Reſentment; they entered the Lands of the *Romans* in Arms. ROMULUS immediately marched againſt them, defeated them, killed their King or Captain, called *Acron*, took their City, and obliged all the Inhabitants to follow him to *Rome*, where he gave them the ſame Rights and Privileges as were enjoy'd by the other Citizens. He re-enter'd *Rome*, laden with the Arms and Spoils of the King, whom he had ſlain, whereof he made a kind of *Trophy*, and conſecrated it to *Jupiter Feretrius*, as a Monument of his Victory: The Origin of the Ceremony of the Triumph among the *Romans*. The *Antemnates* and *Cruſtuminians* had no better Fortune than the *Ceninenſes*. They were overcome; *Antemnes* and *Cruſtuminium* were taken. ROMULUS wou'd not deſtroy them; but the Country being fat and fruitful, he ſettled in it two Colonies, which ſerved for a kind of advanced Guard on that ſide, againſt the Incurſions of his other Enemies. *Tatius* King of the *Curetes* in the Country of the *Sabines* was indeed the laſt that took Arms; but he was not therefore the leaſt formidable: he ſurpris'd the City of *Rome* by Treachery, and penetrated to the very

The firſt War.

Origin of the Triumph.

4th Year of Rome.

ry Forum. Here there was a very obſtinate and bloody Fight, nor cou'd it be foreſeen which way the Victory inclined, when the *Sabine* Women, who were become the Wives of the *Romans*, and who, moſt of them, had Children by them already, threw themſelves into the very midſt of the Combatants, and by their Prayers and Tears ſuſpended their Animoſity. An Accommodation was agreed upon; the two Nations made Peace, and that the Union might be the ſtricter, moſt of theſe *Sabines*, who before dwelt only about the Country, or in ſmall Boroughs, came and ſettled at *Rome*. Thus they, who in the Morning had conſpired the Deſtruction of that City, became, e'er Night, its Citizens and Defenders. Indeed it at firſt coſt ROMULUS part of his Sovereignty: He was obliged to admit *Tatius* into a Share of it; and a Hundred of the nobleſt of that People were at the ſame time brought into the Senate. But *Tatius* being afterwards killed by private Enemies, no body was appointed to ſucceed him: ROMULUS came again into the Poſſeſſion of all his Rights, and the whole Royal Authority returned into his Perſon.

7th Year of Rome. 747 *before Chriſt.*

The *Sabine* Senators, and all that had follow'd them, grew inſenſibly *Romans*. *Rome* began to be look'd upon as the moſt powerful City in *Italy*; before the end of ROMULUS's Reign it contained Seven and Forty Thouſand Inhabitants, all Soldiers, all inſpired with the ſame Spirit, and whoſe only View was to preſerve their own Liberty, and to make themſelves Maſters of that of their Neighbours. But this fierce enterpriſing Temper made them leſs obedient to the Commands of their Prince; and on the other hand, the ſupream Authority, which often aims at nothing but its own Augmentation, grew ſuſpicious and odious in the Founder of the State himſelf.

The Cauſe of Romulus's *death.*

ROMULUS having conquered this part of the *Sabines*, reigned too imperiouſly over his Subjects, a new People, who tho' they were indeed willing to obey him, yet thought it reaſonable that he himſelf ſhou'd ſubmit to the Laws which had been agreed upon in the Eſtabliſhment of the State. That Prince, on the contrary, aſſumed to himſelf alone the whole Authority, which he ought to have ſhared with the Senate and the Aſſembly of the People. He made War upon thoſe of *Camerinum*, *Fidena* and *Veii*, little Towns compriſed among the fifty-three different People, which *Pliny* ſays inhabited the ancient *Latium*, but ſo inconſiderable, that they ſcarce had ſo much as a Name, at the very time when they were in Being, except *Veii*, which was a famous City in *Tuſcany*. ROMULUS ſubdued theſe People one after the other, took their Towns, ruined ſome of them, took away part of the Territory of others, and diſpoſed of it according to his own pleaſure. The Senate was offended at it, and could not patiently bear that the Government ſhou'd be turned into a direct Monarchy. They rid themſelves of a Prince that grew too abſolute. ROMULUS at fifty-five Years of Age, and after having reigned thirty-ſeven, diſappear'd; nor was it ever diſcovered in what manner he was made away with. The Senate, unwilling to have it thought they were any ways concerned in it, raiſed Altars to him after his Death, and made a God of him whom they cou'd not endure for their Sovereign.

Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Virg. Æn. l. 6.

37*th Year of* Rome.

Interregnum.

38*th Year of* Rome.

The Royal Authority by the Death of ROMULUS was loſt in that of the Senate. The Senators agreed to divide it among themſelves, and each with the Title of *Inter-rex*, governed in his Turn five Days, and enjoy'd all the Honours of Sovereignty. This new Form of Government laſted a whole Year, and the Senate never thought

Flav. Vopiſcus, in Tacito Imp.

of giving themſelves a new Maſter. But the People, who found that this *Interregnum* only increaſed the Number of their Lords, loudly demanded to have it at an End: The Senate were obliged at laſt to yield up an Authority which they cou'd hold no longer. They put it to the People, Whether they would proceed to the Election of a new King, or only chuſe annual Magiſtrates, that ſhou'd have the Government of the State. The People, out of Reſpect and Deference to the Senate, left them the Choice of thoſe two ſorts of Government. Several Senators, that had a Reliſh for the Pleaſure of ſeeing no Dignity in *Rome* ſuperior to their own, inclin'd to the Republican State; but the Chief of that Body, who ſecretly aſpired to the Crown, got it determined by Plurality of Voices, That no Alteration ſhould be made in the Form of Government. It was reſolved to proceed to the Election of a King; and the Senator that during this *Interregnum* had laſt perform-ed the Office of *Inter-rex*, addreſſing himſelf to the People in full Aſſembly, ſaid to them: "Elect "your ſelves a King, O *Romans*, the Senate give "their Conſent; and if you make Choice of a "Prince worthy to ſucceed ROMULUS, the Se-"nate will confirm him in that ſupream Dignity." A general Aſſembly of the whole *Roman* People was held for this important Election. We believe it will not be unneceſſary to obſerve here, that this Name, *Aſſembly of the People*, took in not only *Plebeians*, but alſo the Senators, Knights, and all the *Roman* Citizens in general that had right of Suffrage, of all Ranks and all Conditions. They were the general States of the Nation, and they were called *Aſſemblies of the People*, becauſe the Voices being reckoned by tale, the *Plebeians*, alone more numerous than the two other Orders of the State, generally had the Deciſion of all Affairs; which, however, in thoſe early Times, was of

Tit. Liv. l. 1. Dec. 1. Plut. in Numa Pomp.

The Form of electing Kings.

Aſſembly of the People; what it was.

no Effect, but as their Decrees were aftewards approved by the Senate: Such was then the Form obſerved in Elections: There were great Conteſts about that of Romulus's Succeſſor.

The Senate conſiſted of old Senators, and of the new ones that had been added to them in the Reign of Tatius; this made two Parties. The old ones demanded a *Roman*; the *Sabines*, who had been without any King of their own ſince Tatius, were for having one of their own Nation. At length, after great Diſputes, they agreed, that the old Senators ſhou'd name the King of *Rome*, but that they ſhould be obliged to chuſe him from among the *Sabines*. Their Choice fell upon a *Sabine* of the Town of *Cures*, but who commonly dwelt in the Country. His Name was Numa Pompilius, a Man of Virtue, Wiſdom, Moderation and Equity, but no great Soldier; ſo that not being able to get any Reputation by his Courage, he ſought to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the Virtues of Peace. He laboured during his whole Reign, with the Opportunity of a long Ceſſation from War, to turn the Minds of the *Romans* to Religion, and to inſpire them with a great Fear of the Gods. He built new Temples, he inſtituted Feſtivals; and as the Anſwers of Oracles, and the Predictions of the *Augurs* and *Aruſpices*, made the whole Religion of that rough People, he found it no hard Matter to perſwade them that the ſame Deities which foretold what would happen, whether happy or unhappy, might as well cauſe the Happineſs or Unhappineſs they foretold: A Veneration for thoſe ſuperior Beings, who were ſo much the more aweful as they were leſs known, was the Conſequence of theſe Prejudices. *Rome* inſenſibly grew full of Superſtitions; the State made them part of their Policy, and employ'd them with Succeſs, to keep within the Bounds of Submiſſion a People

39*th Year of* Rome.

Livy. Dion. Hal. Plut.

Numa. *He inſtitutes Religion.*

People yet fierce and unpoliſhed. It now became unlawful to undertake any thing that concerned the State, without conſulting thoſe falſe Deities; and NUMA, to give Authority to thoſe pious Inſtitutions, and gain himſelf the Reſpect of the People, pretended to have receiv'd them from a Nymph called *Egeria*, who he ſaid had revealed to him the Manner in which the Gods delighted to be ſerved. His Death, after a Reign of forty-three Years, left the Crown to TULLUS HOSTILIUS, whom the *Romans* choſe for the third King of *Rome*. He was a Prince ambitious, bold, enterpriſing, a greater Lover of War than of Peace, and who upon ROMULUS's Plan reſolved to preſerve his State only by new Conqueſts.

Year of Rome 81. Tullus Hoſtilius.

If the peaceful Conduct of NUMA was ſerviceable to the *Romans*, in ſoftning the rugged Savageneſs of their Manners, the bold undertaking Character of TULLUS, was no leſs neceſſary in a State founded by Violence and Force, and ſurrounded by Neighbours jealous of its Eſtabliſhment. The People of the City of *Alba* ſhew'd the greateſt Animoſity, tho' moſt of the *Romans* were originally derived from them, and *Alba* was look'd upon as the Metropolis of all *Latium*. Divers Cauſes of mutual Complaint, very common between neighbouring States, kindled the War; or, to ſpeak more properly, Ambition only, and a Spirit of Conqueſt, puſhed them on to Arms. The *Romans* and *Albans* took the Field. As they were near Neighbours, the two Armies were not long before they met. It was now no Secret that they were going to fight for Empire and for Liberty.

82d Year of Rome.

War againſt the Albans.

As they were juſt ready to engage, the General of *Alba*, whether he feared the Succeſs of the Battel, or whether he was deſirous only to ſpare the Effuſion of Blood, propoſed to the King of *Rome*, to refer the Deſtiny of both Nations to three

Combat between the Horatii *and* Curiatii.

Combatants of each Side, and that Empire ſhou'd be the Prize of the conquering Party. The Propoſal was accepted; the *Romans* and *Albans* named three Champions each; every Body ſees I ſpeak of the *Horatii* and the *Curiatii*. I ſhall not enter into the Particulars of this Combat; the three *Curiatii* and two of the *Horatii* fell in this celebrated Duel, and *Rome* triumph'd thro' the Courage and Policy of the ſurviving *Horatius*. The *Roman* returning into the City laden with the Arms and Spoils of his Enemies, met his Siſter, who was to have been married to one of the *Curiatii*. Seeing her Brother dreſſed in her Lover's Coat of Armour which ſhe herſelf had wrought, ſhe cou'd not contain her Grief; ſhe ſhed a Flood of Tears, ſhe tore her Hair, and in the Tranſports of her Sorrow uttered the moſt violent Imprecations againſt her Brother.

Dion. Hal. l. 3. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 25.

Year of Rome 87.

Horatius, warm with his Victory, and enraged at the Grief which his Siſter expreſs'd with ſuch unſeaſonable Paſſion in the midſt of the publick Joy, in the Heat of his Anger, ran his Sword thro' her Body: "Begon to thy Lover, *ſays he*, and carry him that degenerate Paſſion which makes thee prefer a dead Enemy to the Glory of thy Country." Every Body deteſted an Action ſo cruel and inhuman. The Murderer was immediately ſeiz'd and drag'd before the *Duumviri*, the proper Judges of ſuch Crimes; *Horatius* was condemned to loſe his Life, and the very Day of his Triumph had been that of his Puniſhment, if he had not, by the Advice of Tullus Hoſtilius, appeal'd from that Judgment to the Aſſembly of the People. He appear'd there with the ſame Courage and Reſolution that he had ſhewn in his Combat with the *Curiatii*. The People thought ſo great a Service might juſtly excuſe them, if for once they moderated the Rigor

He kills his Siſter.

Horatius *condemn'd.*

gor of the Law: *Horatius* was acquitted, rather, ſays *Livy*, thro' Admiration of his Courage, than for the Juſtice of his Cauſe. We related this Event only to prove, by the Advice which the King of *Rome* gave to *Horatius*, to appeal to the People, that the Authority of that Aſſembly was ſuperior to the Prince, and that in the Concurrence of the King and the ſeveral Orders of the State lay the true Sovereignty of that Nation. Horatius *acquitted.* Cic. pro Milone.

The Affair of *Horatius* being ended, the King of *Rome* turned his Thoughts upon making his Authority acknowledg'd in the City of *Alba*, according to the Conditions of the Combat, which adjudged the Empire and Dominion to the Conquerors. That Prince, in the Spirit and Maxims of ROMULUS, deſtroy'd the City, and removed the Inhabitants to *Rome:* There they received the Privileges of Citizens, and the Principal of them were admitted into the very Senate: Such were the *Julii*, the *Servilii*, the *Quintii*, the *Geganii*, the *Curiatii*, and the *Clelii*, whoſe Deſcendants afterwards roſe to the chief Offices of the State, and perform'd very great Services for the Commonwealth, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. TULLUS HOSTILIUS having ſtrengthened *Rome* by this Addition of Inhabitants, turned his Arms againſt the *Sabines*. Dion. Hal. l. 3. 87*th Year of* Rome. Dion. Hal. l. 3.

The Particulars of that War are not to my Subject; I ſhall only ſay that this Prince, after having gained various Advantages over the Enemies of *Rome*, died in the thirty-ſecond Year of his Reign; ANCUS MARTIUS, Grandſon of NUMA, was elected in the room of HOSTILIUS, by the Aſſembly of the People, and the Senate afterwards confirm'd this new Election. *Year of* Rome 113. Ancus Martius. *Year of* Rome 114.

As this Prince derived all his Glory from his Grandfather, he applied himſelf to imitate his pacific Virtues, and his Reſpect for Religion. Dion. Hal. l. 3.

He inſtituted ſeveral ſacred Ceremonies that were always to precede Declarations of War; but theſe pious Regulations, which were better Proofs of his Juſtice than of his Valour, made him contemptible among the neighbouring Nations. *Rome* quickly ſaw her Frontiers laid waſte by the Incurſions of the *Latins*, and ANCUS found by his own Experience, that a Throne requires other Virtues than Piety. Nevertheleſs, to keep ſtill up to his Character, before he took Arms, he ſent to the Enemy a Herald, called by the *Romans Fecialis*; this Herald bore a Spear headed with Steel, as the Badge of his Commiſſion. Being come to the Frontiers, he cried with a loud Voice, "Hear *Ju-* "*piter*, and thou *Juno*, hear *Quirinus*, hear ye "Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell, I call "ye to witneſs that the *Latin* Nation is unjuſt; "and as that Nation has injured the *Roman* Peo- "ple, the *Roman* People and I, with the Con- "ſent of the Senate, declare War againſt them."

Fecialis; *the Functions of his Office.*

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 24. Cic. l. 2. de Leg. A. Gel. l. 16. c. 4.

We ſee by this Form of Words, preſerved by *Livy*, that the Name of the King was not ſo much as mention'd, and that all was done in the Name, and by the Authority of the People; that is to ſay, of the whole Body of the Nation.

This War was no leſs ſucceſsful, than it was juſt. ANCUS defeated the Enemy, ruined their Towns, removed the Inhabitants to *Rome*, and added their Territory to the Dominions of that City.

TARQUIN *the Firſt*, or *the Ancient*, tho' a Stranger, after the Death of ANCUS, came to the Crown, which he purchaſed by the generous Aſſiſtance he had formerly given to the Chief among the People. It was to keep their Affection, and to reward his Creatures, that he brought a Hundred of them into the Senate; but that he might not

Tarquin *the Ancient.*

Year of Rome 138.

Dion. Hal. l. 3.

not confound the different Orders of the State, he made them *Patricians*, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſeus*, before he raiſed them to the Dignity of Senators, who were now increaſed to the Number of Three Hundred; at which they ſtay'd for ſeveral Ages. It will perhaps ſeem ſtrange, that in a State governed by a King aſſiſted by a Senate, all Laws, Decrees, and the Reſult of all Deliberations ſhou'd conſtantly paſs in the Name of the People, without the leaſt mention of the Prince that reigned; but we are to remember, that this generous People had reſerved the greateſt Share of the Government to themſelves. No Reſolution was taken, either for Peace or War, but in their Aſſemblies; they were in thoſe Times called Aſſemblies by *Curiæ:* becauſe they were to conſiſt only of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, divided into thirty *Curiæ:* In theſe they choſe their Kings, their Magiſtrates, and their Prieſts; made Laws, and adminiſtred Juſtice. 'Twas the King, with the Conſent of the Senate, that conven'd theſe Aſſemblies, and by a *Senatusconſultum* fix'd the Day when they ſhou'd be held, and the Matters which ſhou'd be debated in them. A Second *Senatusconſultum* was required to confirm what they had decreed; the Prince or chief Magiſtrate preſided at theſe Aſſemblies, which were always preceded by Auſpices and Sacrifices, whereof the *Patricians* were the ſole Miniſters.

Dion. Hal. l. 3. p. 199. Aur. de viris illuſtribus.

The Peoples Power.

But nevertheleſs, as all was decided in theſe Aſſemblies by Plurality of Voices, and the Votes were counted by tale, the *Plebeians* always carried it againſt the Senate and *Patricians*; ſo that they had a much greater Share in all Decrees than the Senate and Nobles.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, Sixth King of *Rome*, a Prince entirely Republican notwithſtanding his Dignity, but who cou'd not bear to ſee the Government

Servius Tullius. *Year of* Rome 175.

Dion. Hal. l. 3. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 43.

ment depend thus upon the dregs of the People, reſolved to transfer all the Authority into the Body of the Nobility and *Patricians*; where he hoped to meet with juſter Views, and leſs Paſſion. The Enterprize was attended with very great Difficulties; he had to do with a People, of the World the moſt haughty, and moſt jealous of their Rights; and to bring them to remit part thereof, he muſt deceive them with the Bait of ſome Advantage more conſiderable. The *Romans*, in thoſe Times, paid certain Impoſts by Head into the public Treaſury; and as at the beginning every Man's Fortune was much upon an Equality, they had all been ſubjected to the ſame Tribute, which they continued to pay upon the ſame Equality, tho' Succeſſion of Time had made great Difference between the Eſtates of ſome and of others.

Servius *eſtabliſhes the* Cenſus.

SERVIUS, to blind the People, and to know the Strength of his State, repreſented in an Aſſembly, that the Number of the Inhabitants of *Rome* and their Riches being conſiderably increaſed by the Multitude of Strangers that had ſettled in the City, he did not think it juſt that a poor Citizen ſhou'd contribute to the public Expence as much as the richeſt; that thoſe Impoſitions ought to be proportioned to every Man's Ability; but that in order to get an exact Knowledge of this Particular, all the Citizens, upon the greateſt Penalties, ſhould be obliged to give in a faithful Account of what they were worth, to ſerve as a Rule to the Commiſſioners which the Aſſembly of the People ſhou'd appoint to ſettle this Proportion.

The People, who ſaw in this Propoſal nothing but their own Eaſe, received it with great Applauſes; and the whole Aſſembly, with unanimous Conſent, gave the King Power to eſtabliſh

n the Government whatever Order he ſhou'd hink moſt agreeable to the Good of the Public. That Prince, to effect his Purpoſe, firſt divided ll the Inhabitants of the City, without Diſtinction of Birth or Rank, into four *Tribes*, called the *Tribes of the City*. He diſpoſed into ſix nd twenty other Tribes the Citizens that dwelt n the Country and Territory of *Rome*. He hen inſtituted the *Cenſus*, which was nothing more than a Liſt or Roll of all the *Roman* CITIZENS, containing their Age, Subſtance, Profeſſion, the Name of their *Tribe* and *Curia*, and he Number of their Children and Slaves. There was found to be then in *Rome* and its Territory, above fourſcore thouſand Citizens able to bear Arms.

What the Cenſus was.

Fabius Pictor.

SERVIUS divided this great Number into ſix Claſſes, compoſing each Claſs of divers Centuries of Foot. He put into the firſt Claſs fourſcore Centuries, into which he admitted none but Senators, Patricians, or Men remarkable for their Wealth; and each was to be worth at leaſt a Hundred *Minæ*, or Ten Thouſand *Drachmæ*; which in thoſe Days might amount to ſomewhat more than a Thouſand Crowns of our Money; in which however I dare not be too poſitive, becauſe of the Difference of Opinions among the Learned, about the Value and Variation of their Coins. We are not more certain whether each Century of this firſt Claſs conſiſted of a Hundred effective Men: On the contrary, there is ground to believe that SERVIUS, in the View of multiplying the Suffrages of the *Patricians*, increaſed the Number of their Centuries; and he concealed this ſecret Deſign, under the ſpecious Pretence that the *Patricians* being richer than the *Plebeians*, one Century made up of a ſmall Number of that chief Order ought to

The Claſſes of Citizens regulated by Servius.

Dion. H. l. 3. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 33.

contribute as much to the Charges of the State as a compleat Century of *Plebeians*.

The first Class of the People. These fourscore Companies of the first Class were divided into two Orders. The first consisting of the most ancient, all above forty five Years old, were allotted for the Guard and Defence of the City; and the other forty Companies, made up of those from seventeen to five and forty, were to march into the Field, and go to War. They had all the same Arms Offensive and Defensive: The Offensive were the Javelin, the Pike or Halberd, and the Sword; and their Defensive Arms were the Head-piece, the Cuiras, and the Cuisses of Bras.

They dispos'd likewise under this first Class all the Cavalry, whereof they made eighteen Centuries, consisting of the richest and chief Men of the City. To these were added two other Centuries of Artificers, who followed the Camp unarmed; and whose Business was to prepare and manage the Machines of War.

Second Class. The Second Class consisted but of twenty Centuries, and of those that were worth at least threescore and fifteen *Minæ*, that is to say, somewhat more than two thousand Livres. They used much the same Arms as the Citizens of the first Class, and were distinguish'd only by the Difference of their Shield.

Third Class. There was, in like manner, but twenty Centuries in the Third Class, and a Man was required to have at least fifty *Minæ*, that is to say, somewhat more than Five Hundred *French* Crowns, to be admitted into it.

Fourth Class. The Fourth Class was composed of the same Number of Centuries as the two former; and those that were placed in this Class were to be worth at least twenty five *Minæ*, or about Seven Hundred and Fifty Livres.

There

There were thirty Centuries in the Fifth Claſs, in which were placed all thoſe that had at leaſt twelve *Minæ* and an half, or ſomewhat more than Three Hundred Livres. Their only Arms were Slings, and generally they fought out of Rank, and upon the Wings of the Army. *Fifth Claſs.*

The Sixth Claſs had but one Century, which indeed could not ſo properly be called a Century, as a confuſed Multitude of poor Citizens. They were called *Proletarii*, as being no otherways uſeful to the Republic, than by Stocking it with Children (*Proles*, in *Latin*) or *Exempts*, becauſe they were excuſed from going to War and paying Taxes. *Sixth Claſs.* A. Gell. l. 16. c. 10.

Under the Second Claſs, were compriſed two Centuries of Carpenters and Artificers of warlike Machines, and there were two others of Trumpeters joined to the Fourth Claſs. All theſe Claſſes were divided, like the Firſt, into the old Men, who ſtayed at home for the Defence of the City; and the young Men, who formed the Legions that were to march into the Field. Theſe made in all, One Hundred Fourſcore and Thirteen Centuries, each commanded by a Centurion of diſtinguiſh'd Experience and Valour. Dion. H. l. 4.

SERVIUS having eſtabliſh'd this Diſtinction among the Citizens of the ſame Republic, ordained that the People ſhou'd be aſſembled by Centuries, whenever there was Occaſion to elect Magiſtrates, make Laws, declare War, or examine into Crimes committed againſt the Commonwealth, or againſt the Privileges of any Order. The Aſſembly was to be held out of the City, in the Field of *Mars*. It belonged to the Sovereign or Prime Magiſtrate to call theſe Aſſemblies, as well as the *Curiæ*; and all Deliberations were here too preceded by Auſpices, which gave great Authority to the Prince and Patricians, who *Policy of* Servius *to exclude the People from the Government.*

who were veſted with the chief Offices of th Prieſthood. It was farther agreed, that the Vote ſhould be gathered by Centuries, whereas befor they were reckoned by Tale; and that the four ſcore and eighteen Centuries of the Firſt Cla ſhou'd give their Votes firſt. SERVIUS, by thi Regulation, artfully conveyed the whole Autho- rity of the Government into this Body, made up of the Great Men of *Rome*; and without o- penly depriving the *Plebeians* of their Right o Suffrage, he, by this Diviſion, made it of n Uſe to them. For, the whole Nation conſiſt- ing but of One Hundred Fourſcore and Thirtee Centuries, and Fourſcore and Eighteen of thes being in the Firſt Claſs; if there were but Four- ſcore and Seventeen of the ſame Opinion; that i to ſay, one above half of the Hundred Four- ſcore and Thirteen, the Affair was concluded: And then the Firſt Claſs, compoſed, as we ſai before, of the chief Men in *Rome*, had alone the making of all public Decrees: But if any Voices were wanting, and ſome Centuries o the firſt Claſs were not of the ſame Opinion with the reſt, then they called in the ſecond Claſs, and when theſe two Claſſes were of the ſame Mind, it was utterly unneceſſary to proceed to the third. Thus the common People had not the leaſt Power when the Votes were ga- thered by Centuries, whereas when they were taken by *Curiæ*, the Voices being reckoned by their Number, the meaneſt *Plebeian* had as much Weight as the greateſt Senator: After this the Aſſemblies by *Curiæ* were only held for the Ele- ction of the *Flamens*, that is to ſay, the Prieſts of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Romulus*, and to chuſe the chief *Curio*, and ſome Under-Magiſtrates; which we ſhall ſpeak of in their proper Place. We were ſo particular in our Account of this new Plan of Government, only becauſe, without the

Dion. Hal. l. 4.

The difference of the Aſſembly by Curiæ *and Centuries.*

Know-

Knowledge of this, it would be difficult to underſtand what we ſhall hereafter relate, of the Conteſts which aroſe between the Senate and the People, concerning the Government.

The Royalty, after this Eſtabliſhment, appear'd to SERVIUS to be a Dignity entirely impertinent and unneceſſary in a State almoſt Republican. It is ſaid, that to compleat his Work, and to reſtore the *Romans* to full Poſſeſſion of their Liberty, he had generouſly reſolved to abdicate the Throne, and to make the Government a perfect Commonwealth, under the Direction of two Annual Magiſtrates, who ſhou'd be elected in a general Aſſembly of the *Roman* People. But this heroic Deſign was fruſtrated by the Ambition of TARQUIN *the Proud*, SERVIUS's Son-in-Law, who being impatient to reign, cauſed his King and his Father-in-Law to be aſſaſſinated. He at the ſame time took Poſſeſſion of the Throne, without ſo much as the Form of an Election, without conſulting either Senate or People; and as if the ſupream Power had been his hereditary Right, or a Conqueſt which he had won by his Courage and Valour.

Servius *reſolves to abdicate the Royalty.*

Id. ibid.

Servius *is kill'd.*

Tarquin *King.*

Year of Rome 218.

An Action ſo inhuman, made him be look'd upon with Horror by all good Men. His Ambition and Cruelty were equally deteſted; at once a Parricide and a Tyrant, he had robbed both his Father-in-Law of Life, and his Country of Liberty: And as he had aſcended the Throne by this double Crime, he maintained himſelf in it by freſh Violences. He nevertheleſs behaved himſelf at firſt in his Tyranny with a great deal of Cunning; he ſecured the Army, which he look'd upon to be the firmeſt Support of his Power: Haughty and cruel in *Rome*, and to thoſe who were powerful enough to oppoſe his Deſigns; but mild, humane, and even familiar in his Army and with the Soldiers. He rewarded

Year of Rome 219.

Dion. Hal. l. 4. warded them magnificently, and more than once gave them the Towns of the Enemy for Plunder. He ſeem'd to make War only to enrich them, whether he feared their Strength, if ſuffered to keep together at home, or whether he did it to gain from them the more Affection to his Perſon and Intereſts. He beautified the City with ſeveral public Edifices; and as his Workmen were digging the Foundation of a Temple, they found, deep in the Earth, a Man's Head ſtill covered with Fleſh, which had remained without Corruption; this gave the Name of *Capitol* to that Temple, and the Diviners and Augurs, who drew advantageous Conſequences from the leaſt Events, hence took Occaſion to declare, that *Rome* ſhou'd one Day be Miſtreſs of the World, and the Capital of the Univerſe.

The Capitol built.

Tarquin's Tyranny. TARQUIN himſelf overſaw all theſe Works, conſtantly attended by a Band of Soldiers, that ſerved for Guards and Spies at the ſame time. Theſe Slaves of the Tyrant, being diſperſed into different Parts of the City, carefully watch'd if any ſecret Conſpiracy were forming againſt him. The ſlighteſt Suſpicion was puniſhed with Death, or at leaſt with Exile. Several of the chief Senators of *Rome* were made away with by private Orders, for no other Crime, than having dared to bewail the Miſery of their Country. He ſpared not MARCUS JUNIUS himſelf, who had married a *Tarquinia*, Daughter of *Tarquin the Ancient*, but whom he ſuſpected upon account of his Riches. He had him put to Death, and uſed the ſame Cruelty towards the eldeſt Son of that illuſtrious *Roman*, for fear of his Courage and Reſentment. LUCIUS JUNIUS, another of *Marcus*'s Sons, had ſhared the ſame Fate, if, to avoid the Barbarity of the Tyrant, he had not pretended to be a Natural, and to have loſt his Senſes; which made People in Contempt, give him the Name

Name of *Brutus*, which he afterwards made ſo famous; as we ſhall quickly ſhew. The other Senators, uncertain of their Deſtiny, remained concealed in their Houſes: The Tyrant conſulted none of them, the Senate was never conven'd, there was never any Aſſembly of the People: A cruel and deſpotic Power was raiſed upon the Ruins of the Laws and of Liberty. The ſeveral Orders of the State, all equally oppreſſed, impatiently waited for ſome Revolution, without knowing how to hope it, when the Luſt of *Sextus* the Son of TARQUIN, and the violent Death of the chaſte *Lucretia*, threw into Action the general Hatred which all the *Romans* had againſt the King, and againſt Monarchy it ſelf.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 56. Ovid. 1. Faſtor.

Lucretia.

There is no body ignorant of this tragical Story; we ſhall only take Notice, for the clearing up of what follows, that this virtuous Lady, not being able to endure the Thoughts of Life after the Violence ſhe had received, ſent for her Huſband, her Father, her Relations, and the chief Friends of her Family, of whom ſhe demanded Revenge: At the ſame time ſhe plunged a Dagger into her Breaſt, and fell dead at the Feet of her Father and Husband. All that were preſent at this melancholy Sight, uttered bitter Cries: But while they gave themſelves up to their Sorrow, *Lucius Junius*, better known by the Name of *Brutus*, which had been given him upon account of the ſtupid Air he put on, as it were letting fall the Mask, and ſhewing himſelf in his true Shape: "Yes, ſays he, (taking up the Dagger with which *Lucretia* had killed her ſelf) "I here ſwear to take a ſevere "Revenge for the Injury that has been done her: "And I call you to Witneſs, all-powerful Gods, "that I will expoſe my Life, and loſe the laſt "Drop of my Blood, to exterminate the *Tarquins*, and to hinder any of that Family, or any

" other Man whatsoever, from ever reigning in " *Rome*.

He then put the Dagger into the Hands of *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and all there present; from whom he exacted the same Oath. This Oath was a Signal for a general Revolt: The sudden Change that had seemingly been made in the Mind of *Brutus*, was probably looked upon by the People to be a kind of Prodigy, and a plain Proof that Heaven interposed in *Lucretia*'s Revenge. Compassion of the Fate of that unfortunate Lady, and Aversion to Tyrants, made the People take Arms; the Army, moved with the same Sentiments, revolted too: And by a public Decree, the *Tarquins* were banished from *Rome*. The Senate, to engage the People farther in this Revolution, and make their Quarrel with the *Tarquins* the more irreconcileable, suffered them to plunder the Palace. The Abuse those Princes had made of the Sovereign Power, caused the Abolition of Monarchy it self. They devoted to the Gods of Hell, and condemned to the severest Punishments, those that should ever attempt to restore the Royalty. The Republican State succeeded to the Monarchic, the Senate and Nobility made their Advantage of the Wrecks of the Royalty, and possessed themselves of all its Rights; *Rome* became partly an Aristocracy, that is to say, the Nobility got into their own Hands the greatest Part of the Sovereign Authority. Instead of a perpetual Prince, they chose for the Government of the State two yearly Magistrates, taken from the Body of the Senate, to whom they gave the modest Title of *Consuls*, to put them in mind, that they were not so much the Sovereigns of the Republic, as her Counsellors, and that their only Object ought to be her Preservation and Glory.

Rome free. The Consuls. From the Foundation of Rome, *244 Years compleat.*

Cic. l. 3. de leg. Dion. H. l. 5. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. Cic. Or. pro Sextio. Idem. de leg. l. 3. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 1.

BRUTUS, the Reſtorer of Liberty, was choſen for the firſt Conſul; and COLLATINUS, the Husband of *Lucretia*, was made his Colleague, becauſe it was likely he wou'd be more zealous to revenge the Outrage which had been done her, than any other Man. *The firſt Conſuls Rome ever had.*

But this growing Republic was upon the Brink of being deſtroy'd at its very Beginning. A Party was formed in *Rome* in favour of *Tarquin*; ſome young Noblemen, of the beſt Quality in the City, brought up at Court, and accuſtom'd to Licentiouſneſs and Pleaſure, undertook to reeſtabliſh that Prince. The auſtere Form of a Republican Government, in which the Laws alone, always inexorable, have a Right to reign, gave them greater Apprehenſions than the Tyrant himſelf: Being always uſed to the flattering Diſtinctions of the Court, they cou'd not bear that mortifying Equality, which ſet them upon a level with the Multitude. This Party ſpread farther and farther every Day, and which is moſt ſurpriſing, the Sons of BRUTUS himſelf, and the *Aquilii*, the Nephews of COLLATINUS, were found to be at the Head of the Mal-contents. But before the Conſpiracy broke out, they were all diſcovered, and their ill Deſigns prevented. BRUTUS, both the Father and Judge of the Criminals, plainly ſaw he cou'd not ſave his Children without giving Encouragement to new Conſpiracies, and being guilty himſelf of opening the Gates of *Rome* to *Tarquin*. Thus preferring his Country to his Family, and without hearkening to the Voice of Nature, he cauſed his two Sons to be beheaded in his own Preſence, as Traitors. The People admired the mournful Conſtancy with which he had himſelf preſided at the Execution. His Authority grew the greater for this Action; and after ſuch a ſevere Puniſhment of the Conſul's two Sons, not a ſingle *Roman* durſt ſo much *A Conſpiracy.* *Brutus's Sons.* D. H. l. 5.

Collatinus *deposed.*

as think of bringing back *Tarquin.* COLLATINUS, BRUTUS's Calleague, by a contrary Behaviour, and for endeavouring to save his Nephews, made himself suspicious, and was deposed from the Consulship. The People, jealous, and almost furious in the Defence of their Liberty, banish'd him from *Rome*; they durst not confide in the Shew of Hatred which that *Roman* expressed against *Tarquin.* They feared, with some Reason, that being a Relation of that Prince's, he might have his Lust of Dominion in him, and be more an Enemy to the King, than to the Kingship.

Cic. l. 3. Offic.

Liv.Dec.1. l. 2. c. 2. D. H. l. 5.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS was chosen in his Place, and *Tarquin* having now no farther Hopes from his Party in *Rome*, undertook to restore himself by open Force. The *Romans* still oppos'd it with an invincible Constancy; it came to a War, and in the first Battel that was fought near the City against the *Tarquins*, BRUTUS and *Aronces* the eldest Son of *Tarquin* killed each other with their Lances; thus the two first Consuls of the Republic did not finish their Year of Consulship.

War against Tarquin.

Valerius Publicola.

Id. ibid.

VALERIUS continued alone in that Supreme Dignity, which made the People apprehensive that he intended to reign singly. A House which he built upon an Eminence added to this Suspicion; his Enemies and his Enviers gave out, That it was a Citadel which he built for the Seat of his Tyranny. But that Great Man frustrated the Malice of these Reports, and quite dissipated them by the Moderation and Wisdom of his Conduct. He himself pulled down the House which gave occasion of Jealousy to his Fellow-Citizens, and the Consul of the *Romans* was forced to hire a House to live in. Before he gave himself a Colleague, and while the whole Authority was in his own Hands, he by one single Law, in Favour of the People, changed the whole Form of the Government; and whereas

under

under the Kings, the *Plebiſcita*, or Decrees of the People, had not the Force of Laws any farther than they were confirm'd by a *Senatusconſultum*, VALERIUS publiſh'd a Law which ordained the direct contrary, giving Permiſſion to appeal to the Aſſemblies of the People, from the Judgment of the Conſuls: By this new Law he extended the Privileges of the People; and the Conſular Power was weakened in its very Beginning.

He at the ſame time ordained that the Axes ſhou'd be ſeparated from the *Faſces* which the Lictors carried before the Conſuls; to ſhew that thoſe Magiſtrates had not the Right of the Sword, the Symbol of the Sovereign Authority: And in an Aſſembly of the People, the Multitude obſerved with Pleaſure that he had cauſed the *Faſces* of his Lictors to be bowed down, as a ſilent Homage which he paid to the Sovereignty of the *Roman* People: And to remove all manner of Suſpicion of his having the leaſt Thoughts of Tyranny, he publiſh'd another Decree, making it lawful to kill, without any preceding Formality, the Man that ſhou'd aim at being Maſter of the Liberty of his Fellow-Citizens. This Law contained that the Aſſaſſin ſhou'd be declared innocent, provided he brought Proof of the ill Deſigns of him he had ſlain. It was upon the ſame Principle of Moderation, that he wou'd not take upon him the keeping of the public Money raiſed to defray the Charges of the War; it was depoſited in the Temple of *Saturn*, and the People, by his Advice, elected Two Senators, afterwards called *Queſtors*, who were to have the Care of the Public Treaſure. He then declared LUCRETIUS, Father of *Lucretia*, for his Colleague in the Conſulſhip; nay, and yielded to him, upon account of his Seniority of Years, the Honour of the *Faſces*, and all the other Marks of the Sovereign Power.

Plut. in Polic.

Publius Veturius, Minutius Marcus. Ulpian. Digeſt. l. 1. Tit. 13. Tacit. l. 11. *The* Queſtors.

A Conduct so full of Moderation, and Laws so favourable to the People, got that *Patrician* the Name of *Publicola* or *Popular*; and it was not so much to obtain that Title, as to bind the People the more strictly to the Defence of the public Liberty, that he abated of his Authority by these various Regulations.

The Senate inspired with the same Spirit, and convinced of what Consequence it was to themselves to make it the People's Interest to maintain the Commonwealth, took great Care of their Subsistence during the War and the Siege of *Rome*. *Year of* Rome 245. They sent to several Parts of *Campania*, and even to *Cumæ* to fetch Corn, which they distributed to the People at low Rates, for fear if they wanted Bread, they might be tempted to purchase it with the Loss of the common Liberty, and open the Gates of *Rome* to *Tarquin*.

The Senate wou'd not so much as lay any Impost upon the People during the War. Those wise Senators tax'd themselves higher than the rest, and we owe to that illustrious Company this generous and equitable Maxim, "That the People paid "Tribute enough to the Commonwealth in raising "Children who wou'd in time be able to defend "it.

Ambition of the Patricians. But this just Condescention to the Necessities of the People lasted no longer than the Siege of *Rome*, and the Fear of *Tarquin*'s Arms. Scarce did the Fortune of the Republic seem secured by the raising of this Siege, but the Ambition of the *Patricians* broke out; and the Senate quickly made it plain, that by substituting two Consuls drawn from their Body, in the room of the Prince, the People had only changed their Masters, the same Authority still continuing tho' the Name was altered.

The Royalty was indeed abolished, but the Spirit of Royalty was not extinguished; it was entered

tered into the *Patricians*. The Senate, delivered from the Awe of the Royal Power, was for bringing into its own Body the whole Authority of the Government. In poſſeſſing the Civil and Military Dignities which were appropriated to that Order, they enjoy'd all the Power and even Riches which are the Effects of them: And the chief Object of their Politics was ſtill to keep the People in Subjection and Indigence.

Cauſes of the diſturbances.

This People, whoſe Votes were ſo courted in the Elections and public Aſſemblies, fell into Contempt out of the *Comitia*. The Multitude in a Body was uſed with great Reſpect, but the particular *Plebeian* was hardly regarded; none were ever admitted into the Alliance of the *Patricians*. Poverty ſoon reduced the People to a Neceſſity of borrowing, which threw them into a Slaviſh Dependance upon the Rich; afterwards came Uſury, a Remedy yet more intolerable than the Diſtemper; and at laſt Birth, Dignities and Wealth ſet too great an Inequality between the Citizens of one and the ſame Republic.

The Views of theſe two Orders quickly became oppoſite: The *Patricians*, abounding in Valour, and accuſtomed to Command, were always for making War, and ſought nothing but to extend the Power of the Commonwealth Abroad; but the People deſired to ſee *Rome* free at Home, and complained that while they ventured their Lives to ſubdue the neighbouring Nations, they themſelves, at their Return from the Campaign, often fell into the Chains of their own Fellow-Citizens, thro' the Ambition and Avarice of the Great. We ſhall enter ſomewhat farther into this Point, as being the Ground of the Revolutions we are to ſpeak of.

The Arts of the firſt Romans.

Of all the Means which the Calls of Nature have put Men upon inventing for Subſiſtence, the *Romans* practiſed only Tillage and War; they

lived upon their own Crops, or upon the Harvest they reaped Sword in Hand in the Territories of their Enemies. All the Mechanic Arts that were not subservient to these two Professions, were unknown at *Rome*, or left to Slaves and Strangers. Generally speaking, all the *Romans*, from the Senator to the meanest *Plebeian*, were Labourers, and all the Labourers were Soldiers: And we shall see in the course of this History, that they called their greatest Captains from the Plough, to command their Armies. All the *Romans*, the very greatest in the Republic, inured their Children to these Employments, and bred them up in a hard and laborious way of Life, to make them the more robust, and the more capable of sustaining the Fatigues of War.

D. H. l. 2. Plut. in Rom.

Disposal of the conquer'd Lands.

This domestic Discipline had its Rise from the Poverty of the first *Romans*: They afterwards made a Virtue of what was the mere Effect of Necessity, and Men of Courage looked upon this equal Poverty of all the Citizens, as the Means to preserve their Liberty from all Usurpation. Each Citizen had at first for his Subsistence but two Acres of Land, as we said before; *Rome* afterwards extended its Territory by little and little, by the Conquest of their Neighbours. They usually sold one Moiety of the Lands they conquered, to reimburse the State for the Charges of the War, and the other Moiety was added to the Publick Domain, which was afterwards either given or let at a small Rent to the poorer sort to help to maintain them: Such was the ancient Custom of *Rome*, under her Kings, that is to say for above two hundred Years. But after the Extinction of Monarchy, the Nobles and *Patricians*, who looked upon themselves to be the only Sovereigns of the Republic, did, under various Pretences, appropriate to themselves the best part of those conquered Lands, if they lay near their own Estates, or were

Usurpation of the Nobles.

any other ways convenient for them; thus insensibly enlarging their own Revenues to the Diminution of those of the Republic: Or else under borrowed Names, they caused those Portions which were allotted for the Subsistence of the poor Citizens, to be adjudged to themselves at inconsiderable Rates. They afterwards lay'd them into their other Lands, without Distinction; and a few Years Possession, and their own great Power, covered these Usurpations. The State lost her Revenue; and the Soldier, after having spent his Blood to enlarge the Bounds of the Republic, saw himself deprived of the small Portion of Land that ought to have been at once his Pay and his Reward.

Usuriousness of the Patricians.

The Covetousness of some *Patricians* was not confined to these Usurpations only; but when the Harvest fell short by the Badness of the Year, or by the Irruptions of Enemies, they knew how by an ill-meant Relief to make themselves a Title to their Neighbour's Field. The Soldier who then was without Pay being entirely destitute, was forced for his Subsistence to have recourse to the rich. They lent him no Money but at exorbitant Usury, and that Usury too was in those Days Arbitrary, if you will believe *Tacitus*. The Debtor must engage his little Inheritance, and this cruel assistance often cost him his Liberty. The Laws of those times allowed the Creditor, upon default of Payment to seize his Debtor, and carry him to his own House, where he was treated like a Slave. Both Principal and Interest was often exacted with Stripes and Torments; his Land was taken from him by accumulated Usury: and under pretence of the Observation of the Laws and strict Justice, the People daily suffered the utmost Wrong.

Tac. Ann. l. 6. ad Ann. 786.

A Government so severe in a new Republic, quickly raised a general Discontent. The *Plebeians*,

beians, who were oppreſs'd with Debts, and were afraid of being arreſted by their Creditors, applied to their Patrons and the moſt diſintereſted among the Senators. They repreſented to them their extream Want, the difficulty they had to bring up their Children, and told them, that after having fought againſt the *Tarquins* for the Defence of the public Liberty, they were left expoſed to become the Slaves of their own Fellow-Citizens.

Theſe Complaints were followed by ſecret Menaces, and the *Plebeians* finding no Redreſs of their Grievances, at length broke out under the Conſulate of *T. Largius* and *Q. Clelius*.

Year of Rome 255. *Rome*, as we ſaid before, was ſurrounded by a great many petty States who were uneaſy and jealous of the Increaſe of her Power. The *Latins*, the *Æqui*, the *Sabines*, the *Volſci*, the *Hernici*, and the *Veientes*, ſometimes jointly, and ſometimes ſeparately, were almoſt continually making War upon her. It was perhaps to the Enmity of theſe Neighbours that the *Romans* owed that Valour and that military Diſcipline which afterwards made them Maſters of the Univerſe.

League for Tarquin. *Year of* Rome 257. *Tarquin* was ſtill living: He had ſecretly formed a ſtrong League againſt the *Romans*; thirty *Latin* Cities entered into the deſign of Reſtoring him. The *Hernici* and the *Volſci* favoured the Undertaking: The People of *Etruria* alone were for ſeeing the Buſineſs a little more ripe before they declared themſelves; and remained neuter, with intent to take their Party according to the Succeſs.

Revolt of the People. The Conſuls and Senate beheld not without uneaſineſs ſo general a Conſpiracy againſt the Commonwealth; they immediately thought of putting themſelves into a poſture of Defence. As *Rome* had no Soldiers but her own Citizens, it was neceſſary to make the People take Arms; but the poorer ſort, and eſpecially thoſe that were deep

deep in Debt, declared, that it was Their Buſineſs who enjoy'd the Dignities and Riches of the Republic, to defend it; that for their Parts, they were grown weary of expoſing their Lives every day for Maſters ſo cruel and inſatiable. They refuſed to give their Names, as was uſual, in order to be liſted in the Legions; the hotteſt of them ſaid boldly that they were no more tied to their Country, where not an Inch of Land was left them in property, than to any other Climate tho' never ſo ſtrange; that at leaſt there they ſhou'd find no Creditors; that there was no way but leaving *Rome* to free themſelves from their Tyranny, and they openly threaten'd to abandon the City, unleſs all Debts were aboliſh'd by a *Senatusconſultum*.

The Senate, very much diſturbed at a Diſobedience ſo little different from a barefac'd Rebellion, immediately aſſembled: Several Opinions were given. The more moderate Senators were for relieving the People. *M. Valerius*, the Brother of *Publicola*, and who after his Example affected Popularity, repreſented that moſt of the poor *Plebeians* had been forced to contract Debts only by the Misfortune of War; that if in ſuch a Conjuncture as this, when a great Part of *Italy* had declar'd in Favour of *Tarquin*, they did not redreſs the Grievances of the People, it was to be feared Deſpair might drive them into the Tyrant's Party, and that the Senate by ſtretching their Authority too far, might loſe it all in the Reſtoration of the Royalty. D. H. l. 5.

Several Senators, and eſpecially thoſe that had no Debtors, were of his Opinion; but it was rejected with Indignation by the richer ſort. *Appius Claudius* oppoſed it alſo, but with different Views. That Senator, auſtere in his Manners, and a ſevere Obſerver of the Laws, maintained, that no Alteration cou'd be made in them, without endangering Id. Ibid.

the

the Republic. Tho' he was compassionate of the People, some of whom he daily reliev'd out of his own Estate, he nevertheless declared in full Senate, that they cou'd not with Justice refuse the Authority of the Laws to such Creditors as wou'd prosecute their Debtors with Rigor.

But before we enter into a more particular Discussion of this Affair, perhaps it may not be improper to give a thorough Knowledge of a *Patrician*, who by himself and Descendants had so great a Share in the several Commotions which afterwards agitated the Commonwealth.

Appius Claudius's *Character.* *Year of* Rome 250.

Appius Clausus, or *Claudius*, was a *Sabin* by Birth, and one of the chief of the City *Regillum*. Some Civil Dissentions, in which his Party proved the weakest, oblig'd him to leave it. He retired to *Rome*, which offer'd an *Asylum* to all Strangers. He was follow'd by his Family and Partizans, whom *Velleius Paterculus* makes to have been Five Thousand.

The Right of Citizens was granted them, with Lands to inhabit, situated upon the River *Teveron:* This was the Origin of the *Claudian* Tribe. *Appius*, who was the Head of it, was receiv'd into the Senate, where he soon distinguished himself by the Wisdom of his Counsels, and especially by his immoveable Firmness. He loudly
D. H. l. 5. opposed the Advice of *Valerius*, as we said before, and represented in full Senate that Justice being the surest Support of a State, there was no abolishing the Debts of particular Persons without ruining the public Faith, the only Bond
He declaims against the Debtors. of Society among Men. That the People themselves, in whose Favour this unjust Decree was proposed, wou'd be the first Sufferers by it; that in any new Necessity the Rich wou'd shut their Purses; that the Discontent of the Great was no less to be feared than the Murmurs of the People, and that perhaps they wou'd not easily bear the annulling

annulling of Contracts, which were the Fruit of their Temperance and OEconomy. He added, that no body cou'd be ignorant that *Rome* at the beginning aſſigned no greater Portions of Land to the Nobles and *Patricians* than to the *Plebeians*. That theſe latter had but lately ſhared the Eſtate of the *Tarquins*; that they had often got conſiderable Booty in War, and that if they had ſquandered it all away in Debauchery, there was no Reaſon why they ſhou'd be reimburſt at the Expence of thoſe who had lived with more Prudence and good Management; that after all they ſhou'd conſider the Mutineers, and thoſe who made the moſt Noiſe, were *Plebeians* of the very loweſt Claſſes, and who in Battel were uſually placed only in the Wings or in the Rear of the Legions; that moſt of them were armed with nothing but Slings; that there was neither great Service to be expected, nor great Danger to be feared from ſuch Soldiers; that the Republic wou'd have no great Loſs of People that were of no Uſe but to fill up a Number; and that to deſpiſe the Sedition was ſufficient to break it, and to make the Authors ſubmit themſelves humbly to the Clemency of the Senate.

Senators divided in their Opinions.

Some Senators, who were for finding a Medium between two Opinions that were ſo very oppoſite, propoſed that the Creditors at leaſt might have no Power over the Perſons of their Debtors. Others were for acquitting the Debts of thoſe only who were notoriouſly unable to pay them; and there were ſome, who to ſave the public Faith, and at the ſame time ſatisfy the Creditors, propos'd to pay them out of the public Treaſury. The Senate accepted of none of theſe Schemes: They reſolved not to offer any Violation to ſuch ſolemn Acts as Contracts; but in order to pacify the People, and engage them to take Arms in Defence of the State, they paſs'd a *Senatus-conſultum*,

consultum, which granted a Suspension of all Debts 'till the End of the War.

This Condescention of the Senate was an Effect of the Approach of the Enemy, who advanced towards *Rome*. But a great many of the *Plebeians* grown bolder for the same Reason declared, that they wou'd either have an absolute Abolition of all Debts, or leave it to the Rich and Great to take Care of the War, and defend a City in whose Safety they thought themselves no longer concern'd, and which indeed they were ready to leave. The Resolution they shew'd gained them Companions. The Number of the Mal-contents increased daily; nay, and many among the People, who had neither Debts nor Creditors, cou'd not help complaining of the Severity of the Senate, either thro' Compassion for those of their own Order, or out of that secret Aversion which all Men naturally have to Dominion.

Tho' the wisest and richest of the *Plebeians*, and especially the Clients of the Nobles, had no Part in the Sedition; yet the Separation which the Mal-contents threatened, and their obstinate Refusal of taking Arms, were of dangerous Example, especially at a time when most the *Latins*, commanded by the Sons and Son-in-Law of *Tarquin*, were at the Gates of *Rome*. The Senate might indeed have prosecuted the most mutinous and the Leaders of the Sedition, but the *Lex-Valeria*, which allow'd Appeals to the Assembly of the People, was a Shelter for the Seditious; who were sure of being acquitted by the Accomplices of their Rebellion.

Dictator created.

The Senate, to elude the Effect of a Privilege so derogatory to their Power, resolved to create one supream Magistrate that should be equally above the Senate itself and the Assembly of the People,

People, and be endowed with abſolute Authority. To obtain the Conſent of the People, they repreſented to them in a public Aſſembly, that upon this Emergency, in which they had their Domeſtic Quarrels to decide, and the Enemy to repulſe at the ſame time, it was neceſſary to put the Commonwealth under a ſingle Governor, ſuperior to the Conſuls themſelves, who ſhou'd be Arbiter of the Laws, and as it were the Father of his Country: and that for fear he ſhou'd make himſelf its Tyrant, and abuſe this uncontroulable Authority, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix Months.

The People not foreſeeing the Conſequences of this Change, agreed to it: and it ſhou'd ſeem as if they gave the firſt Conſul the Power of naming the Dictator, as a kind of Amends for the Authority he loſt by the creation of that eminent Poſt. *Clelius* preſently named his Colleague *T. Largius*; the firſt *Roman* that, with the Title of *Dictator*, enjoy'd this ſupream Dignity, which may be called an abſolute Monarchy in a Republic, tho' not durable. And indeed the Moment he was named he had Power of Life and Death over all the Citizens of every degree, and without any Appeal. The Authority and the very Functions of all other Magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to him: He had the naming of the General of the Horſe, who was wholly at his Command, and ſerved too as his Lieutenant General. He had Lictors armed with Axes like the Kings. He might raiſe Troops or disband them at his Pleaſure. Whenever War was declared, he commanded the Armies, and went upon all military Enterprizes without the Advice either of the Senate or the People; and when his Authority was expired, he was not oblig'd to give an Account of any thing he had done during his Adminiſtration.

T. Largius *Dictator. Year of* Rome, 259, 498 *before Chriſt.* Liv. Dec. 1. L. 2. D. H. l. 5.

T. LAR-

T. LARGIUS being invested with this great Dignity, named, without the Participation either of Senate or People, *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus* for General of the Horse; and tho' he was indeed one of the most moderate of the whole Senate, yet he outwardly seemed to do every thing with a stern Haughtiness, to make himself feared of the People, and awe them into their Duty. The Firmness of this Magistrate struck a Terror into every Body; they found that under so resolute a Master, who would not fail to make an Example of the first that should rebel, Submission was the only Course they had to take.

The Dictator seated upon a high Chair like a Throne, which he had caused to be set up in the public Place, and surrounded by his Lictors armed with their Axes, ordered every Citizen to be called one after another. The *Plebeians*, without daring to stir a Finger, offered themselves quietly to be listed; and every one full of Awe ranged himself under his Banners. However this mighty Face of War turned into a Treaty: the *Sabines* terrified, sued for Peace without being able to obtain it. But there was a kind of Truce agreed to that lasted almost a Year. And thus this prudent Dictator, by a Conduct equally resolute and mild, found a way to make himself feared and respected both by the Enemy and his Fellow-Citizens.

But the end of the Dictatorship soon revived those domestic Feuds, which the Apprehensions of an approaching War had only suspended. The Creditors again fell to prosecuting their Debtors, and these renewed their Murmurs and Complaints. This great Affair raised fresh Troubles, and the Senate in hopes to prevent ill Consequences got the Consulship for APPIUS CLAUDIUS, whose Resolution they were well acquainted with. But lest he should carry it too far they gave him for his Colleague SERVILIUS, a Man of a gentle, humane Character,

Liv. l. 4. in Orat. Canulei.

Character, and agreeable to the Poor and the Multitude. These two Magistrates were sure to be of contrary Opinions. SERVILIUS out of Goodness and Compassion to the Unfortunate, inclined to the Suppression of the Debts, or at least to the taking off of the Principal those exorbitant and accumulated Interests which considerably exceeded it. He exhorted the Senate to make some Regulation in this Matter, that might ease the People, and settle the Tranquility of the State upon a lasting Foundation.

But APPIUS, a severe Observer of the Laws, maintain'd with his usual Constancy that it was a manifest Injustice to relieve the Debtors at the Expence of the Fortunes of their Creditors; that this Project tended to the very Ruin of the Subordination necessary in a well-governed State; that the Condescension which SERVILIUS was for shewing to the Necessities of the People, would be look'd upon by the Seditious only as a concealed Weakness, and so breed new Pretensions; whereas nothing wou'd be a better Proof of the Power of the Commonwealth, than a just Severity shewed to those who by their Disobedience and Cabals had violated the Majesty of the Senate. *Appius's Severity.*

The People, informed of what had passed in the Senate, and of the different Inclinations of the two Consuls, showered as many Praises upon SERVILIUS, as they threw Imprecations upon APPIUS.

The most mutinous flock together again; they hold secret Assemblies in the Night-time, and in By-Places: all is in Motion; when behold the Calamity of a private Man throws the public Discontent into Action, and raises a general Sedition.

A *Plebeian* laden with Chains, flings himself into the public Place as into an *Asylum*. His Cloaths were *Sad condition of a Debtor.* Liv. l. 2. Dec. 1.

were torn; his Visage pale and disfigured; a rough Beard, and Hair neglected and disordered made his Countenance look ghastly. He was nevertheless very well known; and some remember'd to have been with him in the Wars, and to have seen him fight with great Valour. He himself shewed the Scars of the Wounds that he had received upon several Occasions; he named the Consuls and the Tribunes under whom he had served, and addressing his Speech to a Multitude of People that surrounded him, and that earnestly enquired the Cause of the deplorable Condition he was in; he told them that while he bore Arms in the last War against the *Sabines*, he had not only been hinder'd from cultivating his little Inheritance, but the Enemy, in an Incursion, after having plundered his House, set it on Fire. That the Necessities of Life, and the Tributes which, notwithstanding his Misfortune, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract Debts; that the Interest being by degrees grown to an excessive Sum, he was reduced to the melancholy Expedient of yielding up his Inheritance to discharge part of it. But that the mercileſs Creditor not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to Prison, with two of his Children; that to oblige him to hasten the Payment of the Residue, he had delivered him over to his Slaves, who, by his Order, had torn his Body with Whips: At the same time he flung off his Garment, and discovered his Back still bloody with the Lashes he had received.

Dion. Hal. l. 6.

Insurrection on account of the Debts.

The People already in Motion, provoked at so barbarous an Action, uttered a thousand Cries of Indignation against the *Patricians*. The Noise ran in a moment over the whole City, and the People flocked from all Parts into the *Forum*. Those whom the like Misfortunes had thrown into the Fetters of their Creditors, make their Escape; the

Sedition

Sedition quickly finds Leaders and Abettors. The Authority of the Magiſtrate is no longer regarded; and the Conſuls, who came in hopes of putting a Stop to the Diſorder by their Preſence, being ſurrounded by the People hot with Fury, find neither Reſpect nor Obedience in the Citizens.

APPIUS, abhorred by the Multitude, was juſt going to be inſulted, if he had not eſcaped under Favour of the Tumult. SERVILIUS, tho' more agreeable to the People, was forced to throw off his Conſular Robe; and without any Mark of his Dignity, he runs into the Crowd, careſſes, embraces the moſt mutinous, and with Tears in his Eyes conjures them to appeaſe this Sedition. He gives them his Word that he will immediately call the Senate, and take as much Care of the Peoples Intereſts in it, as any *Plebeian* could do; and as a Proof of his Sincerity, he proclaims by a Herald that none ſhall take up any Citizen for Debt, 'till the Senate had made ſome new Regulation in this Affair.

The People upon his Word diſperſe: The Senate aſſembles. SERVILIUS ſets forth the Diſpoſition of Men's Minds, and the Neceſſity in ſuch a Conjuncture of abating ſomewhat of the Severity of the Laws. APPIUS, on the contrary, always fixed to his Opinion, firmly oppoſes it. The Diverſity of Sentiments breeds a Bitterneſs between theſe two: APPIUS, who could not help ſowering the Uſefulneſs of his Counſels with the Auſterity of his Character, and the Roughneſs of his Manners, publickly upbraids his Collegue with being a Flatterer and a Slave to the People. SERVILIUS on his ſide reproach'd him with the Ruggedneſs of his Temper, his Pride, and the Animoſity he ſhewed againſt the *Plebeians*. The Senate divide themſelves between theſe two Great Men; each takes his Party according to his Inclination or Intereſt. The Difference of Opinions, and the D. H. l. 6.

Oppoſition of Sentiments, raiſe a great Noiſe in the Aſſembly. During this Tumult, ſome Horſemen come full ſpeed with an Account that an Army of *Volſci* were upon their march to *Rome*.

This News was received very differently by the Senate, from what it was by the People. The Senators, their Clients, and the richer ſort of *Plebeians* take Arms. But thoſe who were oppreſſed with Debts, ſhewing their Chains, asked with a fierce kind of a Smile, whether it was worth their while to expoſe their Lives to defend ſuch Ornaments? And all thoſe *Plebeians* obſtinately refuſed to give their Names to be inrolled.

The City was in that Agitation which uſually precedes the greateſt Revolutions: the Conſuls divided; the People diſobedient to their Magiſtrates; and the *Volſci* at the Gates of *Rome*. The Senate, who were almoſt equally afraid of the Citizen and the Enemy, engaged Appius to take upon him the Defence of the City, becauſe they hoped the People would more willingly follow his Collegue into the Field. Servilius, who was appointed to march againſt the Enemy, conjures the People not to abandon him in this Expedition; and to prevail upon them to take Arms, he publiſhes a new Prohibition againſt detaining in Priſon any *Roman* Citizen that was willing to go with him to War, or ſeizing his Children or his Goods: And by the ſame Edict he engages himſelf in the Name of the Senate, to give the People at his return all manner of Satisfaction with relation to their Debts.

This Declaration was no ſooner publiſh'd, but the People crowded in to liſt themſelves, ſome out of Affection to the Conſul, whom they knew to be their Friend, and others that they might not ſtay in *Rome* under the ſevere and imperious Government of Appius. But of all the *Plebeians*, none

none inrolled themſelves more heartily, nor ſhewed more Courage againſt the Enemy, than thoſe very Perſons who had been moſt active in the laſt Tumult. The *Volſci* were defeated, and the Conſul, to reward the Soldier for his Valour in this War, left him the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp, without reſerving any thing for the public Treaſury as was uſual.

The People at his Return met him with great Applauſes, and confidently expected the Effect of his Promiſe. SERVILIUS left no Means untried to make good his Word, and to induce the Senate to grant a general Abolition of Debts. But *Appius*, who looked upon the leaſt Change in the Laws to be dangerous, ſtrongly oppoſed his Collegue's Deſign. He gave the Creditors freſh Power to drag the Debtors to Priſon; and the Applauſes he received for this from the Rich, and the Curſes from the Poor, equally concurred to the confirming of this Magiſtrate in his Severity.

Thoſe that were arreſted appealed to SERVILIUS; they urged upon him the Promiſes he had made to the People before the Campaign, and the Services they had done in the War. They cried aloud before his Tribunal, that either in Quality of Conſul and chief Magiſtrate, he ſhou'd undertake the Defence of his Fellow-Citizens, or that as General he ſhou'd not deſert the Intereſt of his Soldiers. But SERVILIUS, who was of a mild timorous Character, durſt not declare openly againſt the whole Body of Patricians; and endeavouring to manage both Parties, he diſobliged both, ſo that he got the Hatred of the one, and the Contempt of the other. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

The People finding themſelves abandoned by SERVILIUS, and perſecuted by his Collegue, aſſemble tumultuouſly, confer, and reſolved to owe the Redreſs of their Grievances only to themſelves,

and to oppose Tyranny with Force. The Debtors being pursued into the very *Forum* by their Creditors, there find a sure Refuge among the Crowd; the Multitude in fury beat, disperse, and repulse those merciless Creditors, who implore in vain the Assistance of the Laws. A new Irruption of the *Volsci*, the *Sabines*, and the *Æqui*, raises the Courage of the People higher than before, and they openly refuse to march against the Enemy.

Year of Rome 259.

A. Virginius, and T. Vetusius, who succeeded Appius and Servilius in the Consulate, attempted to quell this Tumult by dint of Authority. They caused a *Plebeian* to be seized that refused to list himself; but the People, still furious, tore him out of the Hands of the Lictors; and the Consuls experienced on this occasion, how little Respect is paid to Majesty without Strength. A Disobedience so declar'd, and so little different from a Revolt, alarmed the Senate, which assembled extraordinarily. T. Largius, whom we have seen *Dictator*, gave his Opinion first. That ancient Magistrate, so venerable for his Wisdom and Firmness, said, "That he saw, with abundance "of Grief, *Rome* split as it were into two Na- "tions, and forming two different Cities. That "the first was full of nothing but Riches, and "Pride, and the second of Misery and Rebellion. "That there was no appearance in either of Ju- "stice or of Honour, or even of common De- "cency; and that the Haughtiness of the Great "was no less odious than the Disobedience of the "common People. That he was nevertheless "obliged to own, that he foresaw the extream "Poverty of the People wou'd always keep up "Dissention; and that he did not think it possi- "ble to restore Peace and Union between these "two Orders, any otherwise than by a general "Abolition of the Debts.

Other

Other Senators were for reſtraining this Favour to thoſe who in the laſt Wars had done good Service to the Commonwealth; and repreſented that it was no more than a Piece of Juſtice that was due to them, and for which SERVILIUS's Promiſe ſtood engaged.

APPIUS, when it was his turn to ſpeak, was equally againſt both thoſe Propoſals: "All theſe "Seditions, ſays he, do not proceed from the "People's Want; they are much rather the Ef- "fect of an unbridled Licentiouſneſs, which the "Seditious are pleaſed to call by the Name of "Liberty. All this Confuſion has its Riſe from "the Abuſe which the People makes of the *Lex* "*Valeria*; they violate the Majeſty of the Con- "ſuls with Impunity, becauſe the Mutinous know "they can appeal from the Condemnation of their "Crime to the very Accomplices of their Guilt; "and what Order can we ever hope to eſtabliſh "in a State, where the Decrees of the Magi- "ſtrates are ſubject to the Reviſal and Judgment "of a Rabble that are guided by nothing but "their Fury and Caprice? We muſt create a "*Dictator*, added *Appius*, whoſe Judgments are "without Appeal; and then you need not fear "that any *Plebeian* will be ſo inſolent as to re- "pulſe the Lictors of a Magiſtrate, who has "the ſovereign Diſpoſal of their Lives and For- "tunes. *Appius's ſharp Speech.*

The young Senators jealous of the Senate's Honour, and thoſe eſpecially whoſe Intereſt was concerned in the Abolition of the Debts, declared for *Appius*'s Opinion; they were even for beſtowing that great Dignity upon him: They ſaid that none but a Man of his Firmneſs and Intrepidity, cou'd reduce the People to their Duty. But the old Senators, and the more moderate, thought that ſupreme Power formidable enough of itſelf, without placing it in a Man naturally ſevere, and

M. Valerius *Dictator.* *Year of* Rome 259. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. D. H. l. 6.

odious to the Multitude. One of the Consuls by their Advice named for Dictator MANIUS VALERIUS the Son of *Volesius*. He was a consulary Man, above threescore and ten Years old, and of a Family from which the People had no reason to fear either Pride or Injustice.

The Dictator, *Plebeian* in his Inclination, named for General of the Horse *Quintus Servilius*, the Brother of him that had been Consul, and who was of Opinion like himself, that there was a great deal of Justice in the Peoples Complaints: He then convened a general Assembly in the Place of the *Comitia*. He appeared in it with a Countenance at once both grave and modest; and addressing himself to the People, he told them, that they need have no Apprehensions that either their Liberty, or the *Lex Valeria*, which was its chief Support, wou'd be in Danger under a Dictator of the Family of *Valerius Publicola*. That he did not ascend his Tribunal to cheat them with false Promises; that indeed there was a Necessity of marching against the Enemies who were advancing towards *Rome*, but that he wou'd engage in his own Name, and on the part of the Senate, to give them full Satisfaction with relation to their Complaints at their return from the Campaign: "And in the mean while, says he, "by the Sovereign Power with which I am in- "vested, I declare your Persons, your Lands, "and your Goods, to be perfectly free: I suspend "the Effect of all Obligations that might be "made use of to give you trouble: Come and "assist us to conquer new Lands from our Ene- "mies for your use.

This Speech filled the People with Hopes and with Comfort. Every body took Arms with Pleasure, and ten Legions were raised compleat; three were given to each Consul, and the Dictator reserved four to himself. The *Romans* march-

Id. Ibid.

ed againſt the Enemy on different Sides; the Dictator routed the *Sabines*, and the Conſul VETUSIUS gained a ſignal Victory over the *Volſci*, took firſt their Camp, and then *Velitræ*, into which Place he entred Sword in hand in Purſuit of the Vanquiſhed; and A. VIRGINIUS the other Conſul, defeated the *Æqui*, and won a compleat Victory, which by means of the haſty Flight of the Enemy, was without much bloodſhed.

The Senate apprehending that the Soldiers at their return wou'd challenge of the Dictator the Execution of his Promiſes, deſired him and the two Conſuls to detain the Soldiers ſtill under their Enſigns, upon pretence that the War was not quite finiſhed. The two Conſuls obeyed; but the Dictator, whoſe Authority was more independent of the Senate, disbanded his Army. He declared his Soldiers free of the Oath they took when they liſted themſelves; and as a new Proof of his Affection to the People, he choſe out of that Order four hundred of the moſt conſiderable, whom he brought into that of the Knights. He then went to the Senate, and demanded that they would diſengage his Word by a *Senatus-conſultum*, and aboliſh all the Debts. The oldeſt Senators and the beſt Men, excepting only APPIUS, were for conſenting to this Demand. But the Faction of the Rich got the better, and they were backed by the young Senators, who looked upon all Propoſals in favour of the People, as ſo many Diminutions of the Senate's Authority. There were even ſeveral that preſuming upon the Dictator's extream good Nature, reproached him, that he ſought by the vileſt Methods the Applauſes of a baſe Populace. His Demand was rejected with great Tumult; and he was made to underſtand, that if his Dignity had not ſet him above the Laws, the Senate wou'd call him to an Account for disbanding his Army, as a thing contra-

Dictator diſſatisfy'd

ry

ry to the military Laws, and especially while the Enemies of the Republic were still in Arms.

The Dictator Valerius's *Speech in the Senate-house.* D. H. l. 6.

"I plainly perceive, says that venerable old "Man, that I am not agreeable to you: I am "accused of being too popular; may the Gods "grant that all the Defenders of the *Roman* Peo- "ple, who shall rise hereafter, may be as mode- "rate as I am! But expect not that I will de- "ceive my Fellow-Citizens, who took up Arms "upon my Promise, and who with the Price of "their Blood, have triumphed over your Ene- "mies. A foreign War, and our domestic Feuds, "were the occasion of the Republic's honouring "me with the Dictatorship. We now have Peace "abroad, and I am hindred from establishing it "at home; thus my Power being grown useless, "I am resolved to abdicate this high Dignity. "I had rather behold the Sedition as a private "Person, than with the Title of Dictator." Concluding with these Words, he left the Senate abruptly and convened an Assembly of the People.

Valerius's *Speech in the Assembly of the People, against the Senate.*

When the Assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the Ensigns of his Dignity; he first returned the People Thanks for the Readiness with which upon his Orders they had taken Arms, and at the same time highly praised the Valour and Courage, which they had shewn against the Enemies of the Commonwealth. "You, says he, "like good Citizens, have performed your Duty. "It were now my turn to acquit myself of the "Promise I made you; but a Faction more pow- "erful than the Authority of the Dictator him- "self, hinders the Effect of my sincere Intentions. "I am publickly called an Enemy to the Senate; "my Conduct is censured; it is laid to me as a "Crime, that I left you the Spoils of our Ene- "mies, and above all, that I absolved you from "the military Oath. I know after what man-

"ner,

" ner, in the Strength of my Years, I ſhou'd have
" anſwered ſuch Injuries: but they deſpiſe an old D. H. l. 6.
" Man of above threeſcore and ten; and as I am
" now paſt either revenging my ſelf, or doing
" Juſtice to you, I freely throw up a Dignity in
" which I can do you no Service. If however
" any one of my Fellow-Citizens ſtill condemns
" me for the Inexecution of my Word, I willing-
" ly put the ſmall Remains of Life, which I have
" left, into his Hands; he may deprive me of it,
" and I ſhall neither murmur at it, nor oppoſe
" it.

The People heard this Diſcourſe with no Sentiments but of Reſpect and Veneration: every body did him the Juſtice he deſerved, and he was conducted quite home to his Houſe by the Multitude, with as many Praiſes as if he had pronounced the Abolition of the Debts. The People turned their whole Indignation againſt the Senate, which had ſo often deceived them. They now keep no further Meaſures; the *Plebeians* aſſemble publickly, and the moſt violent Propoſals are moſt agreeable to the Multitude. The two Conſuls, who ſtill held the Soldiers engaged by their Oath, in concert with the Senate, marched into the Field, under pretence of News which they had cauſed to be brought, that the Enemies were making new Preparations. The People who perceived the Artifice, went not out of *Rome* without the utmoſt Fury; the hotter ſort, rather than go any farther, were even for murdering the Conſuls, in order to free themſelves at once from the Oath that bound them to their Command. But the wiſeſt among them, and thoſe who were ſwayed by the Fear of the Gods, having repreſented to them, that no Oath was worth making void by ſuch a Crime, the Soldiers took another Method. They reſolved to leave their Country, and fix themſelves a new Settle-

Settlement out of *Rome*. They immediately take up their Enſigns, change their Officers, and by the Advice, and under the Conduct of a *Plebeian* named *Sicinius Bellutus*, they retire, and incamp upon a Mountain, ſituate three Miles from *Rome*, near the River *Teveron*, and ſince called *Mons Sacer*.

Year of Rome 259.

D. H. l. 6.

Retreat on the Mons Sacer.

A Deſertion ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a Civil War, gave great Uneaſineſs to the Senate. They immediately ſet Guards at the Gates of the City, as well for its Security, as to hinder the reſt of the *Plebeians* from joining the *Malecontents*. But thoſe who were laden with Debts, and the moſt mutinous and ſeditious, eſcaped notwithſtanding this Precaution; and *Rome* ſaw at her Gates a formidable Army made up of part of her own Citizens, and ready to turn their Arms upon thoſe that remain'd in the City.

D. H. l. 6. The *Patricians* divide themſelves out into different Tasks: ſome at the Head of their Clients, and of ſuch *Plebeians* as would not take part in the Sedition, ſecure the moſt advanced Poſts; others intrench themſelves at the Entrance of the City; the old Men undertake the Defence of the Walls, and all appear equally vigorous and reſolute.

The Senates Deputies ſent back.

The Senate after theſe Precautions, ſend a Deputation to the *Malecontents*, to offer them a general Pardon, and exhort them to return into the City, or to their Enſigns. But this Step taken too ſoon, and in the firſt heat of the Sedition, only ſerved to increaſe the Inſolence of the Soldier. The Deputies were ſent back contemptuouſly, with no other Anſwer but, That the *Patricians* ſhould quickly find what Enemies they had to deal with.

The return of theſe Envoys augmented the Trouble in the City. The two Conſuls, whoſe Magi-

Magiſtrature was expiring, appointed the Aſſembly for the Election of their Succeſſors; no body at ſo dangerous a time preſented himſelf Candidate for that Dignity; ſeveral even refuſed it. At length they obliged *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcelinus*, both Conſular Perſons, to accept it, and the Senate pitched upon them, becauſe they were equally agreeable to the Nobles and *Plebeians*, and becauſe *Caſſius* eſpecially had always behaved himſelf very artfully between the two Parties. *Year of* Rome 260, *or* 261.

The firſt care of the new Conſuls, was to convene the Senate to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy Methods of reſtoring Peace and Union amongſt the ſeveral Orders of the State.

MENENIUS AGRIPPA, a Conſular Perſon, and illuſtrious for the Integrity of his Manners, who was ordered to give his Opinion firſt, was for ſending new Deputies to the *Malecontents*, with full Power to conclude this ugly Buſineſs, upon whatever Conditions they ſhou'd think neceſſary for the good of the Republic. Some Senators thought it wou'd be a Derogation to the Majeſty of the Senate, to ſend another Deputation to Rebels, who had given ſuch an unworthy Reception to their firſt Meſſengers. But MENENIUS urged, that this was no time to inſiſt upon a vain Formality; that the Preſervation of the Republic, and an indiſpenſable Neceſſity to which the Gods themſelves were forced to ſubmit, obliged the Senate to court the People. That *Rome*, the Terror of her Neighbours, was in a manner beſieged by her own Citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no Act of Hoſtility, but that for this very Reaſon they ought to prevent the beginning of a War, which cou'd not but be fatal to the State, let the Succeſs be what it would. *Sentiment of* Menenius. *His Speech to the Senate.*

He added, that the *Sabines*, the *Volſci*, the *Æqui*, and the *Hernici*, all irreconcileable Enemies of the

the *Roman* Name, wou'd already have joined the Rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the *Romans* weaken and destroy themselves by their own Divisions. That no great Assistance was to be expected from their Allies; that the Nations of *Campania* and *Tuscany* were but of a doubtful Faith, and were always governed by Events; that they were not at all more secure of the *Latins*, a People jealous of the Superiority of *Rome*, and ever fond of Novelty. That the *Patricians* deceived themselves, if they hoped merely with the help of their Clients and Slaves, to withstand so many domestic and foreign Enemies, who wou'd join to destroy a Power they abhorred.

Valerius *inveighs against the Nobles.* D. H. l. 6.

M. Valerius, whom we spoke of just before, whose Mind was embittered against the Senate, added to what *Menenius* had said, That every thing was to be feared from the Fury of the *Malecontents*, most of whom had already abandoned the Care of their Inheritances, and the Culture of the Lands, as Men who had renounced their Country, and thought of nothing but settling elsewhere. That *Rome* wou'd become a Desart, and that the Senate, by being too inflexible, wou'd be the occasion of the loss of its chief Strength, by the forc'd Retreat of most of the Inhabitants. That if they had followed his Advice during his Dictatorship, they might by the Abolition of the Debts have preserved Union and Peace among the several Orders of the State; but that they must not imagine the People, who had so often been cheated by the false Promises of the Senate, wou'd be satisfied now with that Abolition. That he was afraid the ill Treatment they had received, wou'd make them demand strong Securities for the Continuance of their Rights and Liberties. That they must needs confess, that most of the *Plebeians* were dispoiled of their Inheritances;

that the poor Wretches were thrown into Chains like ſo many Criminals, and that they complained perhaps with ſome Juſtice, that the Nobles and *Patricians*, contrary to the original Conſtitution of the State, ſtudied nothing but how to make themſelves Maſters of the Government. That the Creation of a Dictator, a modern Invention of the Senate's, quite deſtroyed the Purpoſe of the *Lex Valeria*, the Peoples Refuge, and the Guardian of their Liberty. That this abſolute Power intruſted in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, wou'd in time enable ſome Man to become the Tyrant of his Country; that theſe Innovations owed their riſe to the imperious Maxims of *Appius Claudius*, and others of his Stamp, who ſeem'd to be wholly taken up with the Deſign of eſtabliſhing the Dominion of the Nobles upon the Ruins of the public Liberty; and to reduce free Citizens to the vile Condition of Subjects, and Slaves to the Senate.

Appius *anſwers* Valerius.

Appius aroſe when it was his turn to ſpeak, and addreſſing himſelf to *M. Valerius:* "If you had "confined your ſelf, ſays he, merely to ſpeak "your mind, without falling upon me ſo unjuſtly, "you had not expoſed your ſelf to hear Truths, "which may not be very agreeable to you. But "before I offer them to this Body, it is juſt I "ſhould anſwer your Calumnies. Tell me, *Va-* "*lerius*, where are the *Romans* that I have pro- "ſecuted with the Rigor of Juſtice, to oblige "them to pay me what they owe me? Name "the Citizens that I have kept in Chains; go "even to Mount *Velia*, and ſearch among that "Crowd of *Malecontents*, whether there is ſo much "as one that will ſay, he left the City only for "fear of being impriſoned by me. Every body "knows on the contrary, that I have uſed my "Debtors like my Clients and Friends; that "without conſidering the old Debts, I have

"freely

" freely assisted them again in their Necessities,
" and that as much as in me lay, the Citizens
" were always free. Not that I propose my Con-
" duct as a Rule for others; I will always con-
" tend for the Authority of the Laws in favour
" of those that apply to them. I am even con-
" vinced, that with regard to certain Debtors
" that spend their Lives in Idleness and Debau-
" chery, it is as reasonable to make them pay, as
" it is noble and generous to forgive poor Citi-
" zens who are peaceful and laborious, but whose
" Misfortunes have reduced them to extream
" Want: Such has been my Conduct, and such
" are the *imperious Maxims* with which I am
" charged. But I have declared myself a Fa-
" vourer of the Great, say they, and it is upon
" my Counsels that they have possessed themselves
" of the Government. This Crime, Gentlemen,
" added *Appius*, turning towards the chief of the
" Senate, I am guilty of in common with you.
" The Government belongs to you, and you are
" too wise to yield it up to an unbridled Rabble,
" to that furious Beast which hearkens to none
" but its Flatterers, but yet whose Slaves often
" become their Tyrants; and this is what we
" ought to apprehend from *M. Valerius*; who,
" tho' he has no Credit in the Republic, but
" thro' the Offices with which we have ho-
" noured him, makes use of it now to ruin our
" Laws, to change the Form of our Government,
" and to pave himself by his mean Condescentions
" a Way to the Tyranny. You have heard his
" own Words, and must have observed, that be-
" ing better informed than us of the pernicious
" Designs of the Rebels, he gives you notice to
" prepare for new Pretensions; and under colour
" of demanding Security for the Liberty of the
" People, he seeks nothing but to destroy that of
" the Senate.

" But

Sentiment of Appius *concerning the Debts.*

"But to come to the chief point, upon which "we meet this day. I ſay then, that it is ſtriking "at the very Foundation of a State to change its "Laws, and that it is impoſſible to annul the "Contracts between private Perſons, without vio-"lating the public Faith, and ruining that ori-"ginal Contract, which firſt formed Societies "among Men. Will you now grant to a Sedi-"tious Mob, who are ready to turn their Arms "againſt their Country, what you have often "prudently refuſed to quiet Citizens, and Soldi-"ers that fought beneath your Enſigns? Conſi-"der that you cannot recede from this Article of "the Debts, without opening a Door at the ſame "time to new Pretenſions. E'er long the Leaders "of the Sedition, in concert with *M. Valerius*, "will want to be admitted into the chief Digni-"ties of the State. May the tutelar Gods of "*Rome* grant, that the Government do not at "laſt fall wholly into the Hands of a baſe Popu-"lace, that will puniſh you for your weakneſs, "and baniſh you your ſelves from your Country! "It is endeavoured to terrify you with the Arms "of the Rebels; but have not you their Wives "and Children in Hoſtage? Will they attack with "open Force, a City which incloſes all that they "hold moſt dear? But I will grant that they "have no more regard to the Ties of Blood, than "to the Laws of the Government: Have they "the Generals, the Proviſions, and Money neceſ-"ſary to maintain themſelves in ſuch an Enter-"prize? What will become of them during Win-"ter, which is now approaching, without Bread, "without Shelter, and without daring to ſtrug-"gle for fear of falling into our Hands? If they "take refuge among our Neighbours, will they "not find the Government there, as well as at "*Rome*, in the Hands of the Great? Can Rebels "and Run-aways expect to be placed in any o-

Invectives againſt the Rebels.

"ther condition, but that of wretched Slaves? "But perhaps it is feared that they will join their "Arms and beſiege *Rome*, deſtitute of a ſufficient "number of Inhabitants for her Defence, as if the "ſtrength of the Republic lay wholly in the Re"bels. But have you not amongſt the *Patricians* "a flouriſhing Youth, and full of Courage? Our "Clients who are the ſoundeſt part of the Re"public, are they not like us, immoveably faith"ful to her Intereſts? Nay, if occaſion be, let "us arm our Slaves, let us make them a new Peo"ple; them we ſhall find Obedient. They have "in our Service, and by our Example, learnt to "make War. How ſtoutly will they fight, if "Liberty is to be the Reward of their Valour! "But if all theſe helps do not yet ſeem ſufficient, "recall your Colonies. You know by the laſt "numbering of the People, that the Republic D. H. l. 5. p. 293. an. 246. "has no leſs than a Hundred and thirty Thouſand "Heads of Families; there are ſcarce the ſeventh "part of theſe among the *Malecontents*. To con"clude, rather than have the Law dictated to us "by theſe Rebels, grant the *Latins* the right of "Citizens of *Rome*, which they have ſo long ſued "for. You will then ſee them immediately run "to your Aſſiſtance, and you will want neither "Soldiers nor Citizens. To reduce my Opinion "to a few words, I think we ought not to ſend "Deputies to the Rebels, nor do any thing that "can ſhow the leaſt Fear or Uneaſineſs. If they "return to their Duty, we ought to uſe them "gently; but we ſhould purſue them Sword in "Hand if they perſiſt in their Revolt.

The Senate divided. An Advice ſo full of Reſolution was followed tho' thro' different Views, by the Faction of the Rich, and by all the young Senators. The two Conſuls on the other hand, who were *Plebeians* by Inclination, and who courted the Affection of the Multitude, and the old Men, naturally timo-

rous, maintained, that Civil War was the greateſt Calamity that cou'd befal a State. They were backed by ſuch of the Senate as regarded only the preſervation of the public Liberty, and who doubted whether ſome ambitious and enterprizing Man might not ariſe even out of the body of the Senate, and by the help of theſe Diviſions make himſelf ſole Maſter of the Government. But ſcarce were they ſo much as heard; the place was filled with nothing but Clamour and Threatning. The youngeſt Senators, inſolent upon account of their Birth, and jealous of the Prerogatives of their Rank, went even ſo far as to intimate to the Conſuls, that they ſuſpected them. They told them they repreſented the Perſon of Kings, that they had their Authority and that of the Senate to maintain againſt the Invaſions of the People; and the more Violent declared, that if the leaſt Inſult was offered to it, they wou'd take Arms to preſerve to their Order a Power which they had received from their Anceſtors.

Policy of the Conſuls

The two Conſuls, who were reſolved to favour the People, after having conferred together in private, determined to give theſe hot Spirits time to grow cool, and for that purpoſe to put off the Deciſion of this great Affair to the next Aſſembly. But before they broke up, in order to intimidate the young Senators, who had talked to them too audaciouſly, they threatned to deprive them of the right of Suffrage, by fixing the Age neceſſary to qualify a Man to be a Senator, unleſs they behaved themſelves for the future with more Moleſty in ſo venerable an Aſſembly. As that had not yet been ſettled, the young Senators, more afraid of loſing their Rank than their Point, truckled to the Menaces and Power of the Conſuls, who at the ſame time made uſe of another Artifice againſt the older Senators that oppoſed the Abolition of the Debts. They gave them to

underſtand, that they cou'd not bear this diviſion in the Senate, and that if the Fathers did not enter into more unanimous Meaſures, they wou'd carry this Affair before the People; that they cou'd not without Injuſtice refuſe them the Cognizance of it, according to what was practiſed even under the Government of the Kings.

The Senators comply. The Senators who had embraced *Appius*'s Opinion with moſt Warmth, plainly ſaw by the turn which the Conſuls gave to this Affair, that it wou'd ſlip from them if they perſiſted in their firſt Intentions. The fear of falling into the Peoples hands ſtaggered them; the Tears and Cries of the Women and Children who embraced their Knees, and begged of them their Fathers and their Husbands, finiſhed the perſwaſion of them: And the Senate being convened again, the greater number declared for coming to an Agreement. *Appius*, always immoveable in his Opinion, and incapable of changing it but for the force of Reaſon, remained almoſt alone in his oppoſition, with ſome few of his Relations, who out of decency cou'd not leave him.

Appius's Undauntedneſs. The Conſuls triumphed upon having brought the Senate, almoſt in ſpight of themſelves, to come into their meaſures. *Appius*, who was perſuaded that all manner of Negotiation with the Rebels tended to the diminution of the Senate's Authority, addreſſing himſelf to the two Conſuls: "Tho' you ſeem reſolved, ſays he to them, to "treat with the People upon the Conditions they "ſhall preſcribe to you; and that even thoſe who "were of the contrary Opinion have changed "their Minds, either thro' weakneſs or intereſt; "for my part I declare once more, that indeed "we cannot have too much regard for the Miſe"ry of a People faithful and obedient; but I am "firm that all manner of Negotiation is dangerous "ſo long as they continue in Arms.

As the Senate had taken their Reſolution before, his Diſcourſe was heard with Pain, and conſidered as that of a Man zealous indeed for the Senate's Glory, but too much opinionated of his own Abilities, and either out of Vanity, or the Obſtinacy of his humour, incapable of ever changing his Opinion.

Deputies from the Senate to the People.

The Senate, without giving any heed to it, named Ten Commiſſioners to treat with the *Malecontents*, and choſe out of their own Body ſuch as had always declared in favour of the People. *T. Larcius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius* were at the Head of this Deputation, all three Conſulars, and of whom two had governed the Republic, and commanded her Armies in quality of Dictators: They ſet forward with their Colleagues towards the Camp. This great News was got thither before them: the Soldiers ran out in Crowds to receive their old Captains, under whom they had fought ſo many Battels. Shame and Rage were mingled in the Face of theſe Rebels, and there yet appeared thro' the public diſcontent a remainder of the former reſpect created by the Dignity of Command, eſpecially when ſupported by great Merit.

The meer Preſence of theſe great Men had been ſufficient to bring back the Rebels to their Duty, if dangerous Spirits had not taken care to keep up the Fire of Diviſion.

Sicinius and L. Junius Chiefs of the People.

SICINIUS BELLUTUS, as we ſaid before, had gained the Confidence of theſe Soldiers; he was a *Plebeian*, very ambitious, but artful, a great Maſter at fomenting Diſcord, and one that expected his own Advancement from the Troubles of the State. He was backed in his Deſigns by another *Plebeian* much of the ſame Character, but ſomewhat more crafty. He was named LUCIUS JUNIUS, like the ancient Deliverer of *Rome*, tho' of a very different Family: nay, he affected the Surname of

Brutus, out of a ridiculous vanity of comparing himself with that illustrious *Patrician*. This *Plebeian* advised SICINIUS to cross at first the Negotiation of the Deputies, and to create new Obstacles against Union and Peace, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what Price the other Party wou'd purchase it. "The Senate betray their fear, says he: We are "Masters, if we know how to improve this op- "portunity: Let those grave Magistrates speak "what they have to say; I will undertake to an- "swer them in the Name of our Comrades, and "I hope what I shall say will be equally useful and "agreeable to them.

These two Heads of the *Plebeians* being agreed upon the different Parts they were to act, SICINIUS introduced the Deputies into the Camp. All the Soldiers flocked about them, and after they had taken their place where they cou'd be heard by the Multitude, they were told that they might give an account of their Commission. *M. Valerius*, speaking for the rest, said, that he brought them joyful News; that the Senate were pleased to forget their fault; that they were empowered to grant them even all the Favours that were compatible with the common good of their Country; that nothing now hinder'd them from returning into the City, revisiting their Houshold Gods, and receiving the Embraces of their Wives and Children, who sighed for their return.

D. H. l. 6.

SICINIUS replied, that before the People consented to this, it was but Justice they themselves shou'd lay open their Grievances and Pretences, and know what they might hope from these fine promises of the Senate; and at the same time he exhorted those of the Soldiers that wou'd defend the public Liberty to appear. But a profound Silence reigned in the Assembly: they stood looking at one another, and these Soldiers not being Ma-

sters

ſters of the Talent of Elocution, durſt not take upon them to ſtand up for the common Cauſe. Then that *Plebeian* who had taken the Name of *Brutus*, aroſe, as he had before agreed privately with *Sicinius*, and addreſs'd himſelf to the Soldiers:

Fine Speech of L. Junius. D. H. 1. 6.

" One wou'd imagine, Fellow-Soldiers, ſays he, " by this deep Silence, that you are ſtill awed by " the ſervile fear in which the Patricians and your " Creditors have ſo long retained you. Every Man " conſults the Eyes of the reſt to ſee if he can per- " ceive more Reſolution in them than he finds in " himſelf, and not one of you is bold enough to " dare to ſpeak in public, that which is the con- " ſtant Subject of your private Converſations. Do " you not know that you are free? This Camp, " theſe Arms, will not they convince you that you " are no longer under your Tyrants? And if you " ſtill can doubt it, is not this ſtep which the Senate " has taken ſufficient to ſatisfy you of it entirely? " Theſe Men, haughty and imperious as they are, " now come and court our Friendſhip; they no " longer make uſe either of proud Commands, or " cruel Threats; they invite us as their Fellow- " Citizens to return into our common Country, " and our Sovereigns condeſcend to come to our " very Camp, to offer us a general Pardon. Whence " then can proceed this obſtinate Silence, after ſuch " ſingular Condeſcentions? If you doubt the Sin- " cerity of their Promiſes; if you fear that under " the Veil of a few fine Speeches they conceal your " former Chains, why do you not ſpeak? And if " you dare not open your Mouths, at leaſt hear a " *Roman*, who has Courage enough to fear no- " thing but not ſpeaking the Truth.

Then turning to *Valerius*, " You invite us, ſays " he, to return to *Rome*; but you do not tell us " upon what Conditions: Can *Plebeians* poor, tho' " free, think of being united with *Patricians* ſo " rich, and ſo ambitious? And even tho' we ſhou'd

" agree upon those Conditions, what Security " wou'd they give us of their Words, those " haughty *Patricians*, who make a Merit in their " Body of having deceived the People? You talk " to us of nothing but Pardon and Forgiveness, as " if we were your Subjects, and Subjects in Re- " bellion; but that is the Point to be decided. The " Question is which is in fault, the People or the " Senate; which of those two Orders first viola- " ted that common Society which ought to sub- " sist between the Citizens of one and the same " Republic.

" In order to judge of this without Prejudice, " give me leave barely to relate a certain number " of facts, for which I will desire no other Wit- " nesses but your self and your Colleagues.

" Our State was founded by Kings, and never " was the *Roman* People more free and more hap- " py than under their Government. *Tarquin* him- " self, the last of those Princes, *Tarquin*, so odi- " ous to the Senate and the Nobility, was as fa- " vourable to Us as he was averse to you. He " loved the Soldiers, he had an esteem for Valour, " he was always for rewarding it; and every body " knows that having found immense Riches in *Suessa*, " a Town of the *Volsci*, which he had taken, he " chose rather to leave the Booty to his Army, " than to appropriate it to himself; so that besides " the Slaves, the Horses, the Corn, and the House- " hold-stuff, there remained over and above to " each Soldier five *Minæ* of Silver.

" Nevertheless, to revenge your Injuries we " drove that Prince from *Rome*; we took Arms " against a Sovereign that defended himself only " with the Prayers he made to us to leave your " Interests, and to return to his Obedience. We " afterwards cut to pieces the Armies of *Veii*, " and *Tarquinia*, which endeavoured to restore " him to the Throne. The formidable Power of

" *Porsenna*,

" *Porſenna*, the Famine that we were forced to
" undergo during a long Siege, the fierce Aſſaults,
" the continual Battels; in a word, was any thing
" capable of ſhaking the Faith which we had gi-
" ven you? Thirty *Latin* Cities unite to reſtore the
" *Tarquins*; what wou'd you have done then, if
" we had abandoned you, and joined your Ene-
" mies? What Rewards might we not have ob-
" tained of *Tarquin*, while the Senate and Nobles
" wou'd have been the Victims of his Reſent-
" ment? Who was it that diſperſed this dange-
" rous Combination? To whom are you obliged
" for the Defeat of the *Latins?* Is it not to this
" very People, the Author of a Power which you
" have ſince turned againſt them themſelves? For
" what Recompence have we had for the Aſſi-
" ſtance we gave you? Is the Condition of the
" *Roman* People one jot the better? Have you
" aſſociated them in your Offices and Dignities?
" Have our poor Citizens ſo much as found the
" leaſt Relief in their Neceſſities? On the contra-
" ry, have not our braveſt Soldiers, oppreſs'd with
" the Weight of Uſury, groaned beneath the
" Chains of their mercileſs Creditors? What has
" come of all thoſe vain Promiſes of aboliſhing in
" time of Peace the Debts which the Extortions
" of the Great had forced them to contract?
" Scarce was the War finiſhed, but you alike for-
" got our Services, and your Oaths. With what
" Deſign then do you come hither? Why do
" you try to inveigle this People by the Enchant-
" ment of your Words? Are there any Oaths ſo
" ſolemn as to bind your Faith? And after all,
" what wou'd you get by a Union brought about
" by Artifice, kept up with mutual Diſtruſt, and
" which can end at laſt in nothing but a Civil
" War? Let us on both ſides avoid ſuch heavy
" Misfortunes; let us not loſe the Happineſs of
" our Separation; ſuffer us to depart from a Coun-

" try

" try where we are loaden with Chains like so
" many Slaves; and where falling to be Farmers
" of our own Inheritances, we are forced to cul-
" tivate them for the Profit of our Tyrants. We
" shall find a County where-ever we are allowed
" to live in Liberty; and so long as we have our
" Swords in our Hands, we shall be able to open
" ourselves a Way into more fortunate Climates.

A Discourse so bold, renewed in the Assembly the melancholy Remembrance of all those Miseries whereof the People complained; every Man was eager to quote Examples of the Rigor of the *Patricians*; some had lost their Inheritances; others complained of having long suffered in the Prisons of their Creditors; several showed yet the Marks of the Stripes they had received; and there was not one that, besides the general Interest, had not a particular Injury to revenge.

T. Largius *answers* L. Junius. Idem. ibid. *p.* 403.

T. Largius, the Head of the Deputation, thought himself bound to answer all these Complaints, and he did it with that exact Equity and Uprightness, which was so natural to him. He said, that it was not in their power to hinder Men who had lent their Money with an honest Intention, from exacting the Repayment of it; and that it was without Example in any well-regulated Government, that the Magistrate shou'd refuse the Aid of the Laws to those that demanded it, so long as those Laws and Customs served for the Rule in the Government. That nevertheless the Senate was willing to look into the Necessities of the People, and to remedy them by new Regulations; but that it also became their Justice, to distinguish those, whose prudent Conduct deserved the Relief of the Commonwealth, from such as were fallen in Poverty only thro' their own Sloth and Intemperance; that those seditious Men who seemed to make it their Business to keep up the Division

between

between the Senate and the People, were not more deſerving of Favour, and that it wou'd be a very great Advantage to the Republic to loſe ſuch Citizens.

T. Largius was going to proceed in a Diſcourſe more ſincere, than convenient, at the preſent Conjuncture, when *Sicinius*, provoked at what he had ſaid in relation to the Leaders of the Sedition, cut him off abruptly, and addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly: "You now ſee, my Companions, "ſays he, by the haughty Speech of this *Pa-* "*trician*, what you are to expect from his Nego- "tiation, and what Treatment is preparing for "you at *Rome*, if the Senate can once draw you "into their Power: And then turning immediately to the Deputies: "Propoſe directly, ſays "he, the Conditions you are impowered to offer "us for our Return, or this Inſtant leave our "Camp, where we are not diſpoſed to bear with "you any longer. Sicinius *interrupts* Largius.

MENENIUS, who well knew that ſuch Explications were only likely to exaſperate the Diſpute, took upon him to ſpeak, and addreſſing himſelf in his turn to the whole Aſſembly, he repreſented, that they were not come to the Camp only to juſtify the Conduct of the Senate; that thoſe wiſe Magiſtrates, ſtudious for the Public Good, had carefully enquired into the unhappy Cauſes of their Diviſions, and had found, that the extream Indigence of the *Plebeians*, and the Severity of their Creditors, was the true Source of them; that in order to redreſs this at once, they had determined by unanimous Conſent, and by the ſovereign Authority with which they were inveſted, to annul all Obligations, and to declare the poor Citizens free of all manner of Debts: and that as to thoſe which might be contracted hereafter, Proviſion ſhould be made by a new Regulation to be agreed upon between the Peo- Menenius Agrippa's *Diſcourſe.*

ple and the Senate; that a *Senatusconsultum* should afterwards pass conformable to that Agreement, and be enacted into a Law; and that all the Commissioners in the Assembly should engage their Lives to the People, and devote themselves and Children to the Infernal Gods, if they failed in their Promise.

This prudent Magistrate finding the Minds of the People soften'd by these Concessions, and desiring to lessen the Jealousy that was between the Poor and the Rich, represented to them how necessary it was in a State, that one part of the Citizens shou'd be richer than another: and we are told, that to inculcate this Maxim into that People, yet fierce and unpolish'd, he made use of that famous Apologue of a Conspiracy of all the Members of the human Body against the Stomach, under pretence that without working, it only enjoyed the Fruit of the Labour of all the rest. After having applied it to the People and the Senate, he desired them to consider, that that august Body, like the Stomach, conveyed thro' the several Members joined to it, the same Nourishment that it received itself, but much better prepared, and that to it alone they owed their Life and Strength. "Was it not the *Patricians*, "added he, that first stood up for the public "Liberty? To whom do you owe the Establish-"ment of the Republic? When Dangers threaten, "on whom do you turn your Eyes, and whence "have always proceeded those generous Coun-"sels that have saved the State? Nothing is "more precious to that wise Body, than your "Preservation and Union. The Senate loves "you all with the reasonable Affection of a Fa-"ther, but without debasing itself to the trea-"cherous Fawnings of a Flatterer. You de-"mand the Abolition of the Debts; they grant "it you: But they grant it only because they "think

T. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. c. 32.

" think it juſt, and neceſſary to the good of our " Country. Return then with Confidence into " the Boſom of that common Mother, who has " educated us all in Sentiments equally generous " and free. Receive our Embraces as the firſt " Fruits of Peace; let us enter all together into " *Rome*; let us jointly carry thither the firſt " News of our Re-union; and may the Gods " who protect this Empire grant, that it may " be hereafter celebrated by new Victories over " our Enemies.

L. Junius alone withſtands Menenius.

The People cou'd not hear this moving Speech without ſhedding Tears; all the *Plebeians*, as with one Voice, cried out to MENENIUS, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. But the pretended *Brutus*, that had juſt before ſpoken ſo ſharply againſt the Senate, ſtopped his ſudden Heat. He told the People, that in truth they ought at preſent to be ſatisfied with the Abolition of the Debts; but that he cou'd not forbear letting them know that he was very apprehenſive for the future; and that he feared the Senate wou'd one day take Revenge for the Juſtice they had been forced to do them, unleſs, added he, Ways be found to ſecure the State and the Liberties of the People againſt the Enterprizes of ſo ambitious a Body.

Officers demanded by Brutus *to be choſen out of the Order of* Plebeians, *and called Tribunes of the People.*

" What other Security can you ask, replied " MENENIUS, beſides what our Laws and the " Conſtitution of the Republic afford already? " Grant us, anſwered *Brutus*, ſome Officers to " be choſen out of the Order of the *Plebeians*. " We do not deſire to have them diſtinguiſhed " by the honourable Marks of the Magiſtracy, " neither with the Robe bordered with Purple, " nor the Curule Chair, nor the Lictors. We " are willing to leave all that Pageantry to *Pa-* " *tricians* proud of their Birth or Dignities; we " ſhall be contented if we may every Year elect

" some *Plebeians*, that may only have Authority " to hinder the Injustices that may be done to " the People, and to defend their Interests both " public and private. If you came hither with " a sincere Intention to give us Peace, you can- " not reject so equitable a Proposal.

The People, who are always of the Opinion of him that speaks last, immediately applauded what *Brutus* had said. The Deputies were extreamly surprised at such a Demand; they retired a little apart from the Assembly to confer together; and being returned to it, MENENIUS told them, that they asked a very extraordinary thing, and which in time might even be the Source of new Dissentions; that it absolutely exceeded the Bounds of their Instructions and Powers; but that *M. Valerius* and some of the Deputies wou'd go and make their Report of it to the Senate, and that it wou'd not be long before they returned with an answer.

These Commissioners repaired with all speed to *Rome*; the Senate was immediately convened, and they laid open the Peoples new Pretensions. *M. Valerius* declared himself their Protector; he represented that they should not think to govern a warlike People, that was both Soldier and Citizen at the same time, as they might rule peaceable Subjects that had never stirred from their Fire-sides. That War, and a continual Exercise of Arms inspired a kind of Courage, which could not bear the servile Dependance which was expected from these brave Men: That indeed it was but Justice to have the most particular Regards for a generous People, that had rooted out Tyranny with the Expence of their Blood; that it was his Opinion, they ought to grant them the Officers they demanded; and that perhaps such Inspectors might not be altogether useless in a free State, to have an Eye over those among the

Great,

Great, that might ſome time or other be tempted to carry their Authority too far.

APPIUS cou'd not hear ſuch a Speech without burning with Indignation. He called both Gods and Men to be Witneſſes of all the Miſchiefs that ſuch an Innovation in the Government wou'd bring upon the Republic; and as if his Zeal and Rage had inſpired him, he foretold the Senate, that by this Exceſs of Condeſcention, they were ſuffering a Tribunal to be ſet up, which by Degrees wou'd riſe againſt their Authority, and at length deſtroy it.' But this generous Senator was little minded, and his Remonſtrance was looked upon as only the Spleen of a Man obſtinately wedded to his own Opinion, and out of humour that it was not followed. The other ſide prevailed; moſt of the Senators, weary of theſe Diviſions, were willing to have Peace at any rate; thus almoſt with an univerſal Conſent, they agreed to the Creation of theſe new Magiſtrates, who were called *Tribunes of the People*.

A *Senatusconſultum* was made accordingly, which at the ſame time included the Abolition of the Debts; the Deputies of the Senate carried it to the Camp as the Seal of Peace. The People now ſeemed to have nothing to detain them longer out of *Rome*; but the Leaders of the Sedition wou'd not allow them to ſeparate before they elected the new Magiſtrates of the People. The Aſſembly was held in the very Camp; the Auſpices were taken; the Voices and Suffrages were gathered by *Curiæ*, and they choſe for the firſt Tribunes of the People, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *L. Junius* BRUTUS, and C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS the Leaders in the Revolt, who at the ſame time aſſociated *C.* and *P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruga* into their Dignity. *Livy* ſays that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albinus*, were the firſt Tribunes, and that they choſe themſelves three Colleagues,

The firſt Tribunes of the People that Rome ever had.

Colleagues, among whom SICINIUS BELLUTUS is named as one; and that Historian adds, that some Authors related that there were at first but two Tribunes elected in that Assembly.

Be this as it will, those first Tribunes and those Movers of the Sedition, in order to prevent the Senate's Resentment, had the Skill to interest the whole Nation in their Defence. The People before they left the Camp by their Advice declared the Person of their Tribunes sacred; a Law was pass'd to that Effect, which made it Death to offer the least Violence to a Tribune, and all the *Romans* were obliged to take the most solemn Oaths for the Observation of this Law; the People then sacrificed to the Gods upon that very Mountain, afterwards called the *Mons Sacer*, from whence they returned into *Rome*, led by their Tribunes and the Deputies of the Senate.

End of the First Book.



THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK II.

The Tribunes of the People, who had been created only to hinder the Plebeians *from being oppreſſed, endeavour to deſtroy the Authority of the Senate. The Origin of the* Plebeian Ædiles. *In what manner the Tribunes obtained a Right to convene the Aſſembly of the People.* Coriolanus *declares boldly againſt the Enterprizes of the Tribunes. The Character of that* Patrician. *The Tribunes require him to anſwer for his Conduct before the Aſſembly of the People.* Coriolanus *refuſes to*

acknowledge the Authority of that Tribunal. The Senate at first interposes in his Favour, but at length abandons him, and grants a Decree to refer the Decision of this Difference to the Assembly of the People. Coriolanus *is condemned to perpetual Exile. He retires among the* Volsci, *whom he prevails upon to take Arms against the* Romans. *He enters their Dominions at the Head of a numerous Army. Every thing gives way before him:* Rome *herself is upon the Brink of the most dreadful Calamities, when she is freed from the Danger by the Wisdom and Prudence of two* Roman *Ladies among others, one the Wife, and the other the Mother of* Coriolanus.

The troubles that followed the creating of Tribunes of the People.



ROME, by the Establishment of the Tribuneship, changed the Form of her Government a second time. It had passed before, as we have already seen, from the Monarchic State, to a kind of Aristocracy, where the whole Authority was in the Hands of the Senate and the Great. But by the Creation of the Tribunes there arose insensibly, and by slow Steps, a Democracy, wherein the People, under different Pretences, got Possession of the better part of the Government.

The Power and Authority of those Tribunes.

The Senate at first seemed to have no Occasion to apprehend any Danger from the Tribunes, who had no Power but to interpose in the Defence of the *Plebeians*. Nay those new Magistrates had at first neither the Quality of Senators, nor a particular Tribunal, nor any Jurisdiction over their Fellow-citizens, nor the Power of calling the Assemblies of the People. Habited like mere private Men, and attended by one single Servant called *Viator*, which was indeed little different from a Footman, they sat upon a Bench without the Senate

Senate, and were never admitted into it but when the Conſuls called them in to ask their Opinion upon ſome Affair that concerned the Intereſts of the People. Their whole Authority conſiſted in a Right to oppoſe the Decrees of the Senate by the Latin Word *Veto*, that is to ſay, *I forbid it*; which they wrote at the bottom of their Decrees, when they thought them contrary to the Liberty of the People; and this Power was confined within the Walls of *Rome*, or at moſt to a Mile round: And that the People might always have in the City Protectors at hand to take their part, the Tribunes were not allowed to be abſent from the City any one whole Day, except in the *Feriæ Latinæ*. For the ſame Reaſon they were obliged to keep their Doors open Day and Night to receive the Complaints of ſuch Citizens as ſhou'd ſtand in need of their Protection. Such Magiſtrates ſeemed deſigned only to prevent the Oppreſſion of the Diſtreſſed; but they did not long contain themſelves within the Bounds of ſo much Moderation. There was nothing afterwards ſo great and exalted to which they did not raiſe their ambitious Views. We ſhall quickly ſee them ſtand in Competition with the chief Magiſtrates of the Republic; and under pretence of ſecuring the Liberty of the People, they indeed concealed a Deſign of ruining the Authority of the Senate.

One of the firſt Steps of theſe Tribunes was to ask Permiſſion of the Senate to chuſe two *Plebeians* that, with the Title of *Ædiles*, might aſſiſt them in the Multitude of Affairs with which they ſaid they were overloaded in ſo great a City as *Rome*, and eſpecially in the beginning of a new Magiſtracy. *Ediles created.*

The Senate, always divided, and having loſt ſight of the fix'd Point of their Government, ſuffered themſelves to be carried away juſt as theſe

ambitious Men pleased; this new Demand also was granted them. Such was the Origin of the *Plebeian Ædiles*, the Creatures and Ministers of the first Tribunes; and at the beginning they were only their Agents, but afterwards they took to themselves the Inspection of the public Edifices, the Care of the Temples, Baths, Aqueducts; and the Cognizance of a great many Affairs which before belonged to the Consuls: a new Breach made by the Tribunes in the Senate's Authority.

D. H. l. 6.

However, the more popular Senators hoped that by yielding up something of their Right, they had at least restor'd Quiet to the Republic. And indeed *Rome* appeared to be in Repose, and the Union of the People and *Patricians* seemed to be sincere and durable. But the Fire of Division, which lay hid at the bottom of their Hearts, was not long before it flamed out afresh: A Famine that happened the following Year, under the Consulship of T. Geganius and P. Minutius, served the Tribunes for a Pretence to fall again upon the Grandees and the Senate. Sp. Icilius was this Year the first of the Tribunes, and Brutus and Sicinius, to keep themselves still at the Head of Affairs, were descended from the Tribuneship to the Office of *Ædiles*. Those seditious Men, whose Credit subsisted only by the Misunderstanding they fomented between the two Orders of the Commonwealth, maliciously gave out, that the *Patricians* having their Granaries full of Corn, had occasioned the public Dearth in order to make up to themselves the Abolition of the Debts, by the excessive Price at which they shou'd sell it; that this was a new kind of Usury invented by these Tyrants, with intent to get at an inconsiderable rate the little Land that was still left to the poor *Plebeians*.

Oros. l. 2. c. 5. *Year of* Rome, 261.

D. H. l. 7.

Sedition rais'd by the Tribunes.

Nevertheless those Tribunes cou'd not but know, that the People themselves, and their De-

ſertion upon the *Mons Sacer* at the time for ſowing the Corn, was the Cauſe of this Scarcity, becauſe in that general Diſorder, where moſt of the *Malecontents* had Thoughts of ſettling elſewhere, the Lands remained uncultivated and unſown. But theſe Dealers in Sedition ſtudied for nothing but Pretences; they were very well aſſured, that let them be ever ſo improbable, they would paſs for the moſt ſolid Arguments with a Populace that wanted Bread; and they inveighed againſt the Government only to make themſelves Maſters of it, or at leaſt to change it according to their own Intereſts.

The Senate uſed no Arms againſt theſe Invectives, but a conſtant and generous Care, and a continual Application to provide for the Peoples Neceſſities. They bought up Corn on all ſides; and becauſe the Nations bordering upon *Rome*, who were jealous of her Greatneſs, refuſed to furniſh them, they were forced to ſend for it as far as from *Sicily*. P. VALERIUS, Son of the famous *Publicola*, and L. GEGANIUS, Brother to the Conſul, were ſent with this Commiſſion. D. H. l. 7. p. 417.

However, as the Tribunes continued to ſpread diſadvantageous Reports of the Senate's Conduct with deſign to raiſe the Multitude, the Conſuls convened an Aſſembly of the People to undeceive them, and to let them ſee by the care that had been taken of their Subſiſtence, the Injuſtice and Malice of their Tribunes. Theſe latter diſputed with them for the right of ſpeaking; and as in this Conteſt both Parties ſpoke at the ſame time, neither of them was heard. They repreſented in vain to the Tribunes, that they had no Power to talk directly to the People, and that their whole Function conſiſted in the right of Oppoſition, when ſome Offer had been made to the People contrary to their Intereſts: Theſe retorted upon the Conſuls, that the Senate was the only place

where they had any Buſineſs to preſide; and obſtinately maintained, that it belonged to them, preferably to all other Magiſtrates, to ſpeak in the Aſſemblies of the People.

Id. p. 420. Theſe mutual Pretenſions increaſed the Tumult; the Diſpute grew warmer and warmer, and the hotteſt in each Party were juſt ready to come to Blows; when *Brutus*, who was but *Ædile* this Year, as we ſaid before, thought this Diſorder a favourable Opportunity for extending the Authority of the Tribunes, and addreſſing himſelf to the two Conſuls, he promiſed them to appeaſe the Tumult, if they would give him leave to ſpeak in public.

Diſpute between the Conſul Geganius *and the Edile* L. Junius. The Conſuls who in this Permiſſion intreated of them by a *Plebeian* in preſence of his Tribunes, found a new Proof of their Right to preſide in all Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People, conſented he ſhou'd freely ſpeak whatever he thought fit, not doubting but that as he knew the Name of an Aſſembly of the People took in the Senators and Knights as well as the *Plebeians*, he wou'd bring the Tribunes off from their Pretenſions of preſiding in them. But *Brutus* had very different Thoughts, and inſtead of addreſſing himſelf either to the People or the Tribunes, he turned to the Conſul *Geganius*, who had been one of the Commiſſioners that the Senate ſent to the *Mons Sacer*: "Do you remember, ſays he, that when we la-
"boured jointly to bring the two Orders of the
"Republic to an Agreement, no *Patrician* inter-
"rupted thoſe that were appointed to take care
"of the Intereſts of the People, nay, and that
"it was expreſly ſtipulated that it ſhou'd be ſo,
"to the intent that each Party might ſet forth
"their Reaſons with the more Order and Tranquility? I remember it very well, replied *Geganius*.
"Wherefore then, continued *Brutus*, do you
"now interrupt our Tribunes, whoſe Perſons are
"Sacred

" Sacred, and who are inveſted with a public " Magiſtracy? We interrupt them juſtly, an- " ſwered *Geganius*, becauſe having ourſelves con- " vened the Aſſembly, according to the Privi- " lede of our Dignity it belongs to us to ſpeak. The Conſul added too raſhly, and without think- ing of the Conſequences, *That if the Tribunes had convened the Aſſembly, he wou'd have been ſo far from interrupting them, that he wou'd not ſo much as come to hear what they ſaid, tho' merely as a* Roman *Citizen, he had a Right to be preſent at all Aſſemblies of the People.*

Imprudence of Geganius.

Brutus no ſooner heard theſe laſt Words, but he cried out in a Tranſport of Joy, " The Victory " is yours, O *Plebeians*; Tribunes, give way to " the Conſuls; let them ſpeak to-day as much " as they pleaſe, to-morrow I will ſhow you " what the Dignity and Power of your Office " is; only take care, that the People repair hi- " ther betimes in the Morning by your Orders, " and by your convoking. If I abuſe their " Confidence and yours, I am ready to expiate " theſe raſh Promiſes with the Forfeit of my " Life.

Artifice of L. Junius.

The Aſſembly was forced to break up, Night coming on during theſe Contentions; the People went away impatient to ſee the Effect of *Brutus*'s Promiſes; and the *Patricians* retired on their Parts, deſpiſing the Boaſts of a private Man, unable as they thought to give any greater Extent to the Function of Tribune, than the ſingle Privilege of Oppoſition that had been granted upon the *Mons Sacer*.

But BRUTUS, more cunning than the Senate imagined, went to the Tribune *Icilius*; he ſpent part of the Night in conſulting with him, and his Colleagues and he let them into his Deſigns. " All we have to do, ſays he to them, is to con- " vince the People that the Tribuneſhip can be

of no manner of use to them, unless the Tribunes have Power to convene the Assemblies, "in order to represent to them whatever may "concern their Interests; the People will never "refuse to pass a Law which cannot but be advantageous to them; all the Difficulty lies in "preventing the Senate and *Patricians* that might "oppose it: For this purpose we must hold the "Assembly as early as possible, and possess our "selves betimes of all the Avenues to the *Rostrum*. His Colleagues having approved his Scheme, sent into the several Parts of the City to sollicite the principal *Plebeians* to repair to the *Forum* by break of Day, with as many of their Friends as they cou'd possibly get together. The Tribunes on their parts were there before Morning, and according to *Brutus*'s Advice, instantly took Possession of the Temple of *Vulcan*, where those who intended to speak usually placed themselves. An innumerable Multitude of People had quickly crowded the *Forum*. *Icilius* took upon him to speak: and in order to revive the Bitterness and Animosity in Mens Minds, he began with summing up all that the People had suffered from the Avarice and Inhumanity of the Great, before the Establishment of the Tribuneship. He then represented, that the public Misery wou'd never have had an end, if two Citizens had not been found, that had Courage enough to stand up against the Tyranny of the *Patricians*. That after the Abolition of the Debts, those very *Patricians* had taken Advantage of the Famine, to bring the People once more into Slavery, and that they endeavoured to hinder the Tribunes from speaking in the Assemblies, for fear they shou'd give the People light into their true Interests. That this open Tyranny render'd the Tribuneship of no Effect; and that the People must either of their own Accord renounce their Magistrature, or by a new Law give Authority

thority to their Magiſtrates to convene Aſſemblies, to deliberate concerning their Rights, and that then it ſhou'd be unlawful upon the ſevereſt Penalties to interrupt or diſturb them in the Execution of their Office.

This Diſcourſe was received as uſual with great Applauſes. The People immediately cried out that he ſhou'd propoſe the Law himſelf. He had prepared it the Night before, and had taken care to get it ready, for fear that if they were obliged to defer the Publication of it till the next Aſſembly, the Senate and *Patricians* wou'd be there to oppoſe it. He read it aloud, and it was conceived in theſe terms.

Year of Rome 262. D. H. p. 431, 432. *Law in Favour of the Tribunes.*

"That no Man preſume to interrupt a Tri-
"bune that is ſpeaking in the Aſſembly of the
"*Roman* People. If any one break this Law,
"he ſhall preſently give Bail to pay the Fine to
"which he ſhall be condemned: If he refuſes,
"he ſhall be put to Death, and his Goods con-
"fiſcated.

The People gave Force to this Law by their Suffrages. The Conſuls having ſhewn an Intention to reject it, alledging that it was a Law procured by mere Surprize, and in an Aſſembly held by ſtealth, without Auſpices, and without being called by any lawful Authority; the Tribunes reſolutely declared that they wou'd have no more reſpect to the Decrees of the Senate, than the Senate ſhould have for this *Plebiſcitum*. This was the Subject of many Diſputes, which were managed with nothing but Reproaches on each ſide, but without ever coming to Acts of Violence. At length the Senate, like a good Father, gave way to the Obſtinacy of the *Plebeians*, whom it always looked upon as its Children. The Law was received with a general Conſent of the two Orders; the People, ſatisfied with having enlarged the Power of their Tribunes, bore the Famine patiently;

patiently; and ſtill retained ſo much Equity in their diſtreſs, as to pay a Veneration to thoſe Great Men, that had withſtood them with ſo much Courage and Firmneſs.

The City remained for ſome time in quiet; but Plenty produced what Famine cou'd not; and a Fleet laden with Corn, and which arrived upon the *Roman* Coaſt, gave the Tribunes a new occaſion of extending their Power, and of rekindling Sedition.

A freſh Sedition of the Tribunes. Year of Rome 262.

P. Valerius and *L. Geganius*, whom the Senate had employed to go to *Sicily*, as we ſaid before, returned with a great number of Ships laden with Corn, under the Conſulate of M. MINUTIUS and A. SEMPRONIUS. *Gelo*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, had made a Preſent of the greater part of it, and the Envoys of the Senate had bought the remainder with the Public Money: The queſtion now was, what Price to ſet upon it; the Tribunes were called into the Senate to give their Opinion; thoſe Senators whoſe only aim was to reſtore a perfect intelligence between the People and the Senate, were for diſtributing *gratis* among the Poor that Corn which they owed to the Liberality of *Gelo*, and for ſelling at a moderate rate that which they had bought with the public Treaſure. But when it came to CORIOLANUS's turn to ſpeak, that Senator, to whom the Inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip was odious, maintained that this condeſcenſion in the Senate to the Neceſſities of the People only encouraged them in their Inſolence; that they ſhou'd never keep them to their Duty any longer than they were in Indigence, and that the time was now come to avenge the Majeſty of the Senate, violated by a ſeditious Multitude, whoſe Leaders with an addition of Guilt had extorted Dignities for themſelves, as a reward for their Rebellion. It was thus this Senator declared himſelf in the very preſence of the Tribunes.

But

But before we proceed to the conſequences of this Affair, I think it will be abſolutely neceſſary to give ſome further knowledge of a Man, that is to act ſo great a part in this paſſage of our Hiſtory, and whoſe Fortune was more Glorious than Happy.

Character of Coriolanus. Plut. *in* Coriol.

CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious *Patrician* Families in *Rome*. He received the Sirname of *Coriolanus* for having taken, Sword in Hand, *Corioli* one of the chief Towns of the *Volſci*. Having loſt his Father in his Infancy, he was educated with great care by his Mother *Veturia*, a Woman of auſtere Virtue, who had omitted no Methods to inſpire her own Sentiments into her Son.

CORIOLANUS was wiſe, frugal, diſintereſted, of a ſtrict Probity, and an inviolable Adherer to the Obſervation of the Laws. With theſe Pacific Virtues there never was known a more exalted Valour, or ſuch a capacity for the Art of War; he ſeemed to have been born a General; but he was harſh and imperious in his Command; as ſevere to other Men as to himſelf; a generous Friend, an implacable Enemy; too haughty for a Republic. Satisfied with the uprightneſs of his own Intentions, he went on directly to what was Good, without making uſe of that Art and thoſe Inſinuations which are ſo neceſſary in a State founded upon Equality and Moderation. He had demanded the Conſulſhip the preceding Year, and moſt of the Senators being of Opinion that ſo great a Captain wou'd do very ſignal Services to the State, if he were inveſted with that Dignity, had uſed their Intereſt in his Favour. This recommendation of the Great was a ſufficient impediment in the minds of the People. The Tribunes, who dreaded the extraordinary Courage and great Firmneſs of CORIOLANUS, had repreſented to the *Plebeians* the Solicitations of the Senate as a private Conſpiracy againſt

againſt their Order, which had made the People refuſe him their Voices. This Denial he laid extremely to Heart; and he conceived the ſharpeſt Reſentment of it, which he ſhewed upon this occaſion. "If the People, ſaid he in full Senate,

Coriolanus's *proud Speech.*

"expect to have a ſhare in our Liberalities, if they "think to have Proviſions at a moderate Price, let "them reſtore to the Senate its Ancient Rights, "and wipe out the very Footſteps of the laſt Seditions. Why muſt I behold in the *Forum*, and "at the Head of the People, Magiſtrates unknown

Liv. Dec. 1.

"to our Fathers, forming as it were two different "Republicks within the Walls of one and the "ſame City? Shall I ſuffer a *Sicinius*, a *Brutus* to "reign imperiouſly in *Rome*, I that cou'd not endure to ſee her ruled by Kings? Shall I be forced to look with Fear upon Tribunes, that owe "their Power to nothing but our Weakneſs? Let "us no longer bear ſo great an Indignity; but let "us reſtore to our Conſuls the juſt Authority, "which they ought to have over all that call them-

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

"ſelves by the *Roman* Name. If *Sicinius* is diſcontented at this, let him retire once more with "thoſe Rebels that feed his Inſolence and ſupport "his Tyranny. The Way of the *Mons Sacer* is "ſtill open to him; we want no Subjects, but "what are Obedient and Peaceful, and we had "much better be without them, than ſhare the "Government and Dignities of the State with a "vile Rabble.

Conſequences of that Speech.

The oldeſt Senators, and thoſe eſpecially who had managed the laſt Accommodation, thought this vehement Speech more Haughty than Prudent. The young Senators, on the contrary, who did not foreſee the Conſequences of it, gave it the higheſt Commendations. All, Admirers of *Coriolanus*'s Virtue, cried out that he was the only Man that had the Courage of a true *Roman*: They repented and were aſhamed of the Conſent they had given

given to the erection of the Tribuneſhip, as a ſcandalous piece of Cowardice: They talked openly of Aboliſhing it; and the Majority were for re-eſtabliſhing the Government upon its Ancient Foundations.

The Tribunes, whom the Conſuls had ſent for into the Senate, as we ſaid before, ſeeing this kind of Conſpiracy againſt their Order, went out in the greateſt Fury, publickly invoking the Gods, who were Avengers of Perjury, and calling them to bear witneſs of the Solemn Oaths by which the Senate had given Authority to the Eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip. They aſſembled the People tumultuouſly, and cried aloud from the *Roſtrum*, that the *Patricians* had made a League to deſtroy them, their Wives and Children, unleſs the *Plebeians* delivered their Tribunes chained into the Hands of CORIOLANUS; that he was a ſecond Tyrant riſing up in the Republick, and aimed either at their Deaths or Slavery. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

The People take fire immediately; they utter a thouſand confuſed Cries full of Indignation and Threats. *Rome*, but juſt delivered from one Tumult, beholds another Sedition approaching more dangerous than the former. No body thinks now of retiring upon the *Mons Sacer*; the People, who had as it were made a tryal of their Strength, intend to diſpute the Empire of *Rome* with the *Patricians* in the midddle of *Rome* it ſelf: They talk of no leſs than going directly and tearing *Coriolanus* out of the Senate, to ſacrifice him to the publick Hatred. But the Tribunes, who were for a more ſecure way of deſtroying him, that is to ſay, by pretending to obſerve the Forms of Juſtice, ſent him a Summons to come and anſwer for his Behaviour before the Aſſembly of the People; thinking by this means, that if he obeyed, they ſhou'd be the Maſters and Arbiters of the Life of their Enemy; or that they ſhou'd make him more odious to the Coriolanus *ſummon'd.*

People, if he refused to acknowledge their Authority.

Tumult. CORIOLANUS, naturally Proud and Resolute, having sent back their Officer with Contempt, as the Tribunes foresaw he wou'd, these latter immediately went with a Gang of the most mutinous among the *Plebeians*, and waited for him at the Door of the Senate, in order to seize him when he shou'd come out. They met him attended as usual with a Crowd of his Clients, and a great number of young Senators who had a respect for his Person, and thought it an Honour to follow his Opinion in the Senate, and his Example in War. The Tribunes no sooner saw him, but they order'd *Brutus* and *Icilius*, who this Year performed the Office of *Ædiles*, to lead him to Prison. But it was not easy to execute such a Commission, and the Enterprize was as daring as it was extraordinary. CORIOLANUS and his Friends stand upon their Defence, They beat back the *Ædiles* with their Fists: No other Arms were used in those Days, in a City where the Inhabitants never put on the Sword, but when they marched out against the Enemy. The Tribunes, enraged at this Resistance, call the People to their Aid; the *Patricians* on their side run to the Assistance of one of the most illustrious of their Body. The Tumult increases; they fall to Abuses and Reproaches. The Tribunes complain that a mere private Man should dare to violate a sacred Magistracy. The Senators in their Turn demand by what Authority they presume to arrest a Senator, and a *Patrician* of an Order superior to the People, and whether they meant to set themselves up for Tribunes of the Senate, as they were of the People. During these Contentions the Consuls came in and dispersed the Multitude; and as much by Intreaties as Authority prevailed upon the People to retire.

D. H. ib. l. 7.

But the Tribunes did not stop here; they convened the Assembly for the next Morning. The

Conſuls and Senate, ſeeing the People run to the *Forum* at the very break of Day, repaired thither too with all Diligence, to prevent the ill Deſigns of theſe ſeditious Magiſtrates, and to hinder them from bringing the People whom they governed to take ſome haſty Reſolution contrary to the Dignity of the Senate, and the Safety of *Coriolanus*. Their Preſence did not keep thoſe Tribunes from inveighing, as uſual, againſt the whole Order of *Patricians*. Then turning the Accuſation againſt *Coriolanus*, they reported the Words he had ſpoke in the Senate relating to the Diſtribution of the Corn.

They alſo urged as another Crime in him, the great number of Friends, which his Virtue drew about his Perſon, and whom the Tribunes call'd the Tyrant's Guard. "It was by his Order, ſaid "they, addreſſing themſelves to the People, that "your *Ædiles* were inſulted. He ſought by thoſe "firſt Blows only to engage us in a Quarrel; and "if we had not ſhewn more Moderation than he, "perhaps a Civil War might have armed your "Citizens one againſt another. After having ſpent themſelves in Invectives to make *Coriolanus* more odious to the People, they added, that if there was any *Patrician* who wou'd undertake his Defence, he might mount the *Roſtrum* and ſpeak to the People.

Minutius the firſt Conſul offered himſelf; and after having complained in general, and with abundance of Moderation, of thoſe who catch'd at the leaſt Pretence to raiſe new Diſturbances in the Republick; he remonſtrated to the People, that there was ſo far from being any ground of accuſing the Senate and *Patricians* of having cauſed the Famine, that every body knew that Calamity was occaſion'd only by the Deſertion of the People, and by the Fault of thoſe, who the Year before had neglected to cultivate and ſow their Lands. That

Idem. l. 7. *The prudent Behaviour of the Conſul* Minutius.

That he cou'd with the ſame Eaſe deſtroy the other Calumnies, with which their Ears were fill'd by ſeditious Harangues, as that the Senate had laid a Deſign to aboliſh the Tribuneſhip, and to cauſe the whole People to periſh by Famine. That in order to efface at once a Report ſo falſe and in-
D. H. l. 7. jurious, he declared to them that the Senate again confirmed the Power of the Tribunes, with all the Privileges that had been granted to them upon the *Mons Sacer*: That as to the Diſtribution of the Corn, they made the People Judges and Maſters of that Matter, to fix what Price upon it they themſelves thought fit.

The Conſul, after a Preamble ſo well adapted to the ſoftening the Minds, and winning the good Will of the People, added by way of a mild Reproach, that he cou'd not help blaming them for the Precipitation with which they ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the firſt Reports that were ſpread by ſome particular Incendiaries. That it was ſtrange they ſhou'd go about to make the different Opinions that were offered, a Crime in the Senate, even before any thing was decreed.

Minutius's *Speech for* Coriolanus.

" Remember, ſays he, that in your Retreat upon " the *Mons Sacer*, your whole Wiſhes, Petitions " and Prayers were to obtain the Abolition of " the Debts. Scarce had you received ſo great " a Favour, but you made yourſelves a kind of " new Right from the Eaſineſs of the Senate, to " demand the Creation of two Magiſtrates of your " own Body, whoſe whole Authority by your " own Confeſſion was to be confined to the hin- " dering a *Patrician* from oppreſſing a *Plebeian*: " A new Grant, for which you returned us the " greateſt Thanks, and which ſeemed to give you " full Content. In thoſe troubleſome Times, e- " ven when the Sedition was at the higheſt, you " never thought of requiring a Diminution of " the Senate's Authority, or an Alteration in the

" Form

" Form of our Government. By what Right then " do your Tribunes now pretend to carry their In- " ſpection, and give their Cenſure upon what " paſſes in our Deliberations? When till now was " a Senator ever treated as a Criminal, for having " ſpoke his Mind freely in the Senate? What " Laws give you Authority to proſecute his Exile " or his Death, as you do with ſo much Animo- " ſity? But I will ſuppoſe that by an unheard-of " Subverſion of all Order, the whole Body of the " Senate is accountable to your Tribunes. Let us " further ſuppoſe, if you will have it ſo, that *Co-* " *riolanus* has let ſlip ſome Words too harſh in de- " livering his Opinion; are you not obliged in " Equity to forget a few random Words that were " loſt in Air, for the ſake of his real Services, of " which you yourſelves have reap'd all the Fruit? " Save the Life of ſo excellent a Citizen, ſave ſo " great a Captain for your Country; and if you " will not acquit him as Innocent, at leaſt give " him as Criminal to the whole Senate, who in- " treat this Favour of you by my Mouth. This " will be the Bond which uniting us more cloſely " than ever, will be a new Motive to the Senate " to continue their Goodneſs towards you. Where- " as if you perſiſt in your Reſolution of deſtroying " this Senator, perhaps the Oppoſition you may " meet with from the *Patricians* may produce Ca- " lamities that may make you repent of having " puſhed your Reſentment too far.

Artifice of Sicinius *againſt* Coriola- nus.

This Diſcourſe made an Impreſſion upon the Multitude, and brought them to an Inclination for Peace and Union. *Sicinius* was ſurpriſed and confounded at this Turn: But diſſembling his ill Deſigns, he gave great Praiſes to *Minutius* and all the Senators, for having been pleaſed to condeſcend ſo far as to account to the People for their Conduct, and for not having diſdained to interpoſe their Prayers and good Offices in favour of

CORIOLANUS. Then turning to the Senator: "And you, excellent Citizens, says he in an ironical Tone, will you not still defend before the People that Advice so useful to the Publick, which you proposed so boldly in the Senate? Or rather why have you not Recourse to the Clemency of the *Roman* People? It is likely CORIOLANUS thinks it below his Courage to debase himself so far, as to ask Pardon of those whom he thought to destroy.

The artful Tribune spoke to him in this manner, because he was perswaded that a Man of CORIOLANUS's Character, who was incapable of stooping or changing his Opinion, wou'd provoke the People afresh by the Haughtiness of his Answers. He was not deceived in his Hopes; for CORIOLANUS was so far from owning himself guilty, or endeavouring to pacify the People, as *Minutius* had done, that on the contrary he quite destroyed the Effect of that Consul's Speech, by an ill-timed Resoluteness, and by the Harshness of his Expressions. He inveighed more violently than ever against the Enterprizes of the Tribunes, and declared boldly that the People had no Right to judge a Senator: But that if any Man was offended at what he had said in the Senate he might summon him before the Consuls and the Senators, whom he acknowledged for his Natural Judges, and before whom he shou'd be always ready to give an Account of his Behaviour.

The young Senators, charmed with his Intrepidity, and overjoyed to have a Man that durst speak openly what they all thought, cried out, that he had advanced nothing but what was conformable to the Laws: But the People, who thought themselves despised, resolved to make him feel their Power. They immediately proceeded to his Tryal as a Rebel, and a Citizen that refused to acknowledge the Authority of the *Roman*

man People. *Sicinius*, after having conſulted apart with his Colleagues, without ſo much as giving himſelf the Trouble to collect the Voices of the Aſſembly, pronounced Sentence of Death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock; a Puniſhment which they inflicted upon ſuch as were Enemies of their Country.

Coriolanus *condemn'd.*

The *Ædiles*, who were the uſual Miniſters of all the Violences of the Tribunes, drew near to lay hold of his Perſon; but the Senate and all the *Patricians* in the Aſſembly ran to his Aſſiſtance; they placed him in the midſt of them, and making Arms of whatever their Indignation and Rage offered to them, they ſeemed reſolutely determined to oppoſe Force with Force.

D. H. l. 7. Plut. *in* Cor.

The People, who are always afraid of thoſe who do not fear them, refuſed to give Aſſiſtance to their *Ædiles*, and remained in a kind of Suſpence; either not daring to attack a Body in which they ſaw their Magiſtrates and Captains, or thinking their Tribunes had carried their Animoſity too far, in condemning a Citizen to Death for mere Words. *Sicinius*, who was afraid CORIOLANUS wou'd eſcape him, called aſide *Brutus*, his Counſellor and his Oracle, as ſeditious as himſelf but leſs haſty, and whoſe Schemes were deeper laid. He privately asked him his Opinion upon this Irreſolution in the People which broke all his meaſures.

Brutus told him, that he muſt never think of deſtroying CORIOLANUS ſo long as he was guarded by the whole Body of the Nobility; that it had even occaſion'd a Murmur in the Aſſembly, that he ſhou'd pretend to be both Judge and Party at the ſame time; that the People, who turn in an Inſtant from the moſt violent Fury to Sentiments of Compaſſion, looked upon his being condemn'd to die to be too rigorous a Sentence; that in the Diſpoſition which Mens Minds ſeemed to be in, he certainly

wou'd never ſucceed by Methods of Violence; but that with the old and ſpecious Pretence of deſiring to do nothing but what was according to the Forms of Juſtice, he ſhou'd demand of the Senate, that CORIOLANUS ſhou'd be tried by the Aſſembly of the People; and above all, he ſhou'd at any rate get the Aſſembly to be convened by Tribes, wherein the Voices were reckoned by their Number, and the Great and Rich were mingled with the Poor; whereas if they gave their Votes by Centuries, it was to be fear'd the rich *Patricians*, who cou'd themſelves make a Majority, wou'd ſave CORIOLANUS.

Sicinius being reſolved to follow this Advice, made a Sign to the People, that he was going to ſpeak: And Silence being made for him: "You "ſee, O *Romans*, ſays he, that it is not the Fault "of the *Patricians*, that much Blood is not ſhed "this Day, and that they are ready to come to the "greateſt Extremities to reſcue the declared Ene-"my of the *Roman* People out of the Hands of "Juſtice. But it is our Duty to ſet them better "Examples: We will do nothing raſhly. Tho' "the Criminal is ſufficiently convicted by his own "Confeſſion, we yet are willing to give him Time "to prepare his Defence. We cite thee, added "he, addreſſing himſelf to CORIOLANUS, to ap-"pear before the People in Seven and twenty Days. "As for the Diſtribution of the Corn, if the Senate "does not take due care of that Matter, the Tri-"bunes will give Directions about it themſelves. And with this he adjourned the Aſſembly.

The Senate, during this Interval, to take off the Bitterneſs of the People, fixed the Price of Corn at the loweſt Rate that it ever had been at even before the Sedition, and the Conſuls entered into Conference with the Tribunes upon the Affair of CORIOLANUS, in hopes to appeaſe them, and to bring theſe popular Magiſtrates to conform to the

Ancient

Ancient Rules of the Government. *Minutius*, who ſpoke for the reſt, repreſented to them that ever ſince the Foundation of *Rome*, that Reſpect had always been paid to the Senate, that no Affair was ever referred to the Judgment of the People, any otherwiſe than by a *Senatusconſultum*: That the Kings themſelves had always had this Deference for ſo Auguſt a Body. He exhorted them to conform to the Uſage of their Anceſtors. But that if they had any conſiderable Grievances to lay to the Charge of CORIOLANUS, they ſhou'd apply to the Senate, who wou'd do them Juſtice, and who, according to the Nature of the Crime, and the Solidity of their Proofs, wou'd refer it by a *Senatusconſultum* to the Judgment of the People, who then, and not till then, wou'd have a Right to try a Citizen.

Sicinius withſtood this Propoſal with his uſual Inſolence, and declared that he wou'd never ſuffer the Authority of the *Roman* People to be decided by a *Senatusconſultum*. His Colleagues, who meant as ill as he did, but who were more skilful in the Conduct of their Deſigns, plainly found they ſhou'd make themſelves odious even to the *Plebeians*, if they ſo publickly deviated from the uſual Forms of Juſtice; thus they obliged *Sicinius* to deſiſt from his Oppoſition, under pretence of doing it out of Deference for the Conſuls. But this ſeeming Complaiſance was of ſo much the leſs moment, as they had taken a firm Reſolution, if the *Senatusconſultum* was not ſuch as they deſired, to make uſe of the *Lex Valeria*, in order to appeal to the Aſſembly of the People, by which means this Affair was ſtill to come before their Tribunal; ſo that the whole Queſtion was whether it ſhou'd be carried thither in the firſt or ſecond Inſtance.

Thus the Tribunes readily agreed, that the Senate ſhou'd decide as uſual, whether the People

ſhou'd take Cognizance of this Accuſation; and they only deſired, that they might be heard in the Senate with relation to the Grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the Charge of the Perſon accuſed.

The Conſuls and the Tribunes having agreed upon this Preliminary Form, thoſe Magiſtrates of the People were the next Day introduced into the Senate. *Decius*, one of thoſe Tribunes, tho' the youngeſt, ſpoke for the reſt; and that Honour was done him becauſe of his Eloquence, and the Readineſs with which he expreſſed himſelf in public; a Qualification abſolutely neceſſary in all popular Governments, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where the Talent of Elocution was no leſs requiſite in order to obtain Advancement, than Courage and Valour. That Tribune addreſſing himſelf to the whole Senate, "You know, Conſcript Fathers, "ſays he, that having driven out the Kings by "our Aſſiſtance, you eſtabliſhed in the Republic "the Form of Government which we now ob- "ſerve, and of which we do not complain. But "you cannot be ignorant too, that in all the Dif- "ferences which any poor *Plebeian* had afterwards "with a Noble or *Patrician*, that *Plebeian* con- "ſtantly loſt his Cauſe, their Adverſaries being "their Judges, and all the Tribunals being filled "with none but *Patricians*. This Abuſe was what "made *P. Valerius Publicola*, that wiſe Conſul, "and excellent Citizen, eſtabliſh the Law which "granted an Appeal to the People from the De- "crees of the Senate, and the Judgmeats of the "Conſuls.

The Tribune Decius *ſpeaks in the Senate-houſe.*

"Such is the Law called *Valeria*, which has "always been looked upon as the Baſis and Foun- "dation of the public Liberty. It is to this Law "that we now fly for Redreſs, if you refuſe us "the Juſtice we demand upon a Man blackened "with the greateſt Crime that it is poſſible to

"com-

" commit in a Republic. It is not a ſingle *Ple-*
" *beian* complaining; here is the whole Body of
" the *Roman* People, demanding the Condemna-
" tion of a Tyrant that has gone about to deſtroy
" his Fellow-citizens by Famine, that has violated
" our Magiſtracy, and by forcible Methods driven
" back our Officers, and the *Ædiles* of the Com-
" monwealth. CORIOLANUS is the Man we ac-
" cuſe of having propoſed the Abolition of the
" Tribuneſhip, a Magiſtracy made ſacred by the
" moſt ſolemn Oaths. What need is there then
" for a *Senatusconſultum* to proſecute a Crime like
" this? Does not every Man know that thoſe par-
" ticular Decrees of the Senate are requiſite only
" in unforeſeen and extraordinary Affairs, and for
" which the Laws have as yet made no Proviſion?
" But in the preſent Caſe, where the Law is ſo
" direct, where it ſo expreſly devotes to the infer-
" nal Gods thoſe that infringe it; is it not making
" one ſelf an Accomplice in the Crime to heſitate
" in the leaſt? Are you not apprehenſive that
" theſe affected Delays in pronouncing Sentence
" upon the Criminal, upon pretence of an imagi-
" nary neceſſity of a *Senatusconſultum*, will make
" the People inclined to believe that CORIOLANUS
" only ſpoke the Sentiments of you all?

" I know that ſeveral among you complain it
" was merely by Violence that we extorted your
" Conſent for the Abolition of the Debts, and the
" Eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip. I will even
" ſuppoſe that in the high Degree of Power to
" which you had raiſed your ſelves ſince the Ex-
" pulſion of the Kings, it was neither convenient
" nor honourable for you to yield up part of it in
" favour of the People; but you have done it, and
" the whole Senate is bound by the moſt ſolemn
" Oaths never to undo it. After the Eſtabliſh-
" ment of thoſe ſacred Laws, which render the
" Perſons of our Tribunes inviolable, will you

" out of compliance to the first ambitious Man
" that arises, attempt to revoke what indeed makes
" the Security and Peace of the State? Certainly
" you never will; and I dare answer for you, so
" long as I behold in this Assembly those venera-
" ble Magistrates that had so great a Share in the
" Treaty made upon the *Mons Sacer*. Ought so
" great a Crime be suffered to be brought so much
" as into Deliberation? CORIOLANUS is the first
" that by his seditious Advice endeavoured to break
" those sacred Bonds which, in virtue of the Laws,
" unite the several Orders of the State. It is he
" alone that is for destroying the Tribuitian Pow-
" er, the People's *Asylum*, the Bulwark of our
" Liberty, and the Pledge of our Re-union. In
" order to force the People's Consent, he endea-
" vours to effect one Crime by means of a greater.
" He has dared in a Holy Place, and in the midst
" of the Senate, to propose to suffer the People
" to die of Hunger. Cruel and unthinking Man
" at the same time! did he not consider that the
" People whom he meant to exterminate with so
" much Inhumanity, who are more numerous
" and powerful than he cou'd wish, being redu-
" ced to Despair, wou'd have broken into the
" Houses of the Rich, forced open those Gra-
" naries and those Cellars which concealed so
" much Wealth; and that either they would
" have fallen under the Power of the *Patricians*,
" or that these latter wou'd themselves have been
" totally rooted out by an enraged Populace, who
" then wou'd have hearkened to no Law but
" what was dictated to them by their Necessity
" and Resentment.

" For that you may not be unacquainted with
" the Truth, we wou'd not have perished by a
" Famine brought upon us by our Enemies. But
" after having taken to witness the Gods, Aven-
" gers of Injustice, we wou'd have filled *Rome*

" with

" with Blood and Slaughter. Such had been the " fatal Succeſs of the Counſels of that perfidious " Citizen, if ſome Senators, who had more Love " for their Country, had not hindered them " from taking Effect. It is to you, Conſcript Fa- " thers, that we addreſs our juſt Complaints. It " is your Aid, and the Wiſdom of your Decrees, " that we call upon to oblige this public Enemy " to appear before the whole *Roman* People aſ- " ſembled by Tribes to anſwer for his pernicious " Counſels. It is there, *Coriolanus*, that thou muſt " defend thy former Sentiments, if thou dareſt ſo " to do, or excuſe them as proceeding from want " of Thought: Take my Advice; leave thy haugh- " ty and tyrannical Maxims; make thyſelf leſs; " become like us; nay put on Habits of Mourn- " ing, which are ſo conformable to the preſent " State of thy Fortune. Implore the Pity of thy " Fellow-citizens, and perhaps thou may'ſt obtain " their Favour, and the Forgiveneſs of thy Faults.

This Tribune having left off ſpeaking, the Conſuls asked the Opinion of the Aſſembly: They began with the Conſulars and the oldeſt Senators; for in thoſe Days, ſays *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, the young Senators were not ſo preſumptuous as to think themſelves capable of inſtructing their Seniors. Thoſe young Men who were modeſt and reſerved, without daring to ſpeak, only declared their Opinion by ſome Sign, or by going over to that Side which they thought moſt juſt. It was from this reſpectful way of declaring their Minds, that they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, (from the Latin *Pes*, a Foot) becauſe their Opinion was known only by the Side which they went (or *walk'd*) over to: Thus it was a common Saying, that a Pedarian Opinion was like a Head without a Tongue. L. 7. *p.* 453.

The Pedarian *Senators.*

All the Senators waited, out of different Motives, ſome with Deſire, and others with Uneaſineſs,

to

to hear how *Appius Claudius* wou'd declare himself.

Appius's *Speech against the Tribunes.*

When it was his Turn to speak, "You know, "Conscript Fathers, says he, that I have long "and frequently opposed, even alone, the Ease "with which you grant the People whatever "they demand. I know not whether I have not "been even troublesome in repeating to you the "fatal Presages which I drew from the Union "that was proposed to you with those Deserters "of the Commonwealth. The Event has but "too truly answered my just Suspicions. The "share of the Magistracy which you yielded up "to those seditious Men, is now turned against "yourselves. The People punishes you by means "of your own Favours; they take Advantage of "your Goodness to ruin your Authority. 'Tis "in vain you try to hide even from yourselves "the Danger which the Senate is in; you can-"not but see that their Design is to change the "ancient Form of our Government: The Tri-"bunes, to bring about their private Views, make "gradual Advances to the Tyranny. At first "they demanded only the Abolition of the Debts; "and this People, who are now so haughty, and "who endeavour to make themselves the supreme "Judges of the Senators, then thought they stood "in need of a Pardon, for the disrespectful man-"ner in which they sued for that first Concession.

"Your Easiness gave Occasion to new Preten-"sions; the People wou'd have their particular "Magistrates. You know how earnestly I op-"posed these Innovations; but in spight of all "I cou'd do, you assented in this Point also; "you allowed the People to have Tribunes, that "is to say, perpetual Ringleaders of Sedition. "The People intoxicated with Fury, wou'd even "have this new Magistracy consecrated in a par-"ticular manner, which had never been allowed

"to

" to the Conſulſhip itſelf, the firſt Dignity in " the Republic. The Senate conſented to every " thing, not ſo much out of Kindneſs for the Peo- " ple, as want of Reſolution; the Perſon of the " Tribunes was declared ſacred and inviolable, and " a Law made to that Effect. The People requi- " red that it ſhou'd be confirmed with the moſt " ſolemn Oaths; and that Day, my Fathers, you " ſwore upon the Altars the Deſtruction of your " ſelves and Children. What has been the Fruit " of all theſe Favours? Your Eaſineſs has only " ſerved to make you contemptible in the Eyes " of the People, and to increaſe the Pride and " Inſolence of their Tribunes. They now begin " to ſet up new Rights for themſelves; and theſe " modern Magiſtrates, who ought to live merely " like private Men, take upon them to convene " the Aſſemblies of the People, and without our " Privity procure Laws to be enacted by the " Voices of a baſe Rabble.

" And yet it is to ſo odious a Tribunal that they " now ſummon a *Patrician*, a Senator, a Citizen of " your Order, in a word, *Coriolanus*, that great " Captain, and withal that good Man, yet more " illuſtrious for his Adherence to the Intereſts of " the Senate than for his Valour. They preſume " to make it a Crime in a Senator to ſpeak his O- " pinion in full Senate, with that Freedom which " is ſo becoming a *Roman*; and if you yourſelves " had not been his Buckler and Defence, they had " aſſaſſinated, even in your Preſence, one of your " moſt illuſtrious Citizens. The Majeſty of the " Senate was juſt going to be violated by ſo baſe " a Murder; the Reſpect due to your Dignity " was quite forgot, and you your ſelves were " loſing your Liberty and Empire.

" The Reſolution and Courage which you " ſhewed upon this laſt Occaſion, in ſome mea- " ſure awaked theſe Madmen from their drunken " fit.

" fit. They ſeem now to be aſhamed of a Crime " that they cou'd not compleat; they deſiſt from " the violent Methods which they found wou'd " not ſucceed, and ſeemingly have recourſe to " Juſtice, and the Rules of the Law.

" But what is this Juſtice, immortal Gods, " which theſe Men of Blood wou'd introduce! " they endeavour by ſubmiſſive Means to ſurpriſe " you into a *Senatusconſultum*, that may give " them Power to drag the beſt Citizen of *Rome* " to Puniſhment. They alledge the *Lex Valeria* " as the Rule of your Conduct; but does not e- " very body know, that this Law, which allows " of Appeals to the Aſſembly of the People, re- " lates only to ſuch poor *Plebeians*, as being de- " ſtitute of all other Protection, might be op- " preſſed by the Credit of a ſtrong Cabal? The " Text of the Law is plain; it expreſly ſays, " That a Citizen condemned by the Conſuls " ſhould have Liberty to appeal to the People. " *Publicola* by this Law only gave an *Aſylum* to " thoſe unhappy Men that had reaſon to com- " plain of having been condemned by prejudiced " Judges. The Deſign of the Law was only to " have their Cauſes heard over again; and when " you afterwards conſented to the Creation of the " Tribunes, neither you, nor even the People " themſelves, ever intended any thing more in " the Eſtabliſhment of theſe new Magiſtrates, " than that this Law might be furniſh'd with " Protectors, and the Poor with Advocates that " might prevent their being oppreſſed by the " Great. What relation is there between ſuch " a Law, and the Caſe of a Senator of an Order " ſuperior to the People, and who is accountable " for his Conduct to none but the Senate? To " ſhew that the *Lex Valeria* relates only to pri- " vate *Plebeians*; for about ſeventeen Years that " it has been made, let *Decius* only give me an

" Inſtance

" Inſtance of one ſingle *Patrician* that was ever " called in Judgment before the People by vertue " of that Law, and our Diſpute will be at an " End. And indeed what Juſtice wou'd there be " in delivering up a Senator to the Fury of the " Tribunes, and to ſuffer the People to be " Judges in their own Cauſe; as if their tumul- " tuous Aſſemblies, directed by ſuch ſeditious " Magiſtrates, cou'd be without Prejudice, with- " out Hatred, and without Paſſion? Thus, O " Fathers, it is my Advice, that before you de- " termine upon any thing, you maturely weigh " that in this Affair your Intereſts are inſeparable " from thoſe of *Coriolanus*; for the reſt, I am " not for your revoking the Favours you have " granted the People, by whatever Means they " obtained them; but I cannot forbear exhorting " you to refuſe boldly for the future whatever " they ſhall think to get of you contrary to " your own Authority, and the Form of our " Government.

It is plain by theſe two oppoſite Speeches of *Decius* and *Appius*, that the Buſineſs of CORIOLANUS was only uſed as a Colour to Affairs of greater Importance. The true Cauſe of the Diſpute and Animoſity between the two Parties was this, That the Nobles and *Patricians* affirmed, that by the Expulſion of the Kings they ſucceeded in their Authority, and that the Government ought to be purely Ariſtocratic; whereas the Tribunes, by new Laws, endeavoured to turn it into a Democracy, and to bring the whole Authority into the Hands of the People, whom they governed as they pleaſed. Thus Ambition, Intereſt, and Jealouſy, animated the two Parties, and made the wiſeſt Men apprehenſive of a new Separation, or of a Civil War.

Pacific Sentiments of Valerius.

This was what *M. Valerius*, that Conſular who had been ſo ſerviceable in the Agreement upon the

Mons Sacer, represented to the Senate in Terms equally strong and moving. He was a true Republican, and was displeased to see the Nobles and all those of his Order constantly affecting a Distinction and Power ever odious in a free State. As he was Master of a sweet insinuating Eloquence, he first spoke much in general of the Benefits of Peace, and of the Necessity of preserving Union in the Republic. Then he proceeded to the Affair of CORIOLANUS, and declared himself for referring the Cognizance of it to the Assembly of the People. He maintained that the Senate, by letting go some little of its Authority, wou'd secure the Duration of it; that it wou'd be stronger if it were less, and that nothing was more likely to disarm the Peoples Rage against that illustrious Criminal, than the granting them the Judgment of him: That the Multitude, charm'd with such Condescension, wou'd abstain from condemning a Man whom they knew to be so dear to the Senate: And that to appease them compleatly, he wou'd have all the Senators disperse themselves among the Assembly, and each endeavour by a more gentle and popular Behaviour, to win over the *Plebeians* he was acquainted with.

Valerius's *Speech to* Coriolanus.

Valerius then turning to CORIOLANUS, besought him in the most tender manner to give Peace to the Republic: "Go, CORIOLANUS, says he, offer "your self generously to the People's Judgment; "this is the only way of justifying your self "that is worthy of you; this is the surest Means "to silence those who accuse you of aiming at "the Tyranny. The People, moved with be- "holding so great a Soul bending under the "Power of their Tribunes, can never bring "themselves to pronounce Sentence of Condem- "nation upon CORIOLANUS; whereas if you per- "sist in shewing a Contempt for that Tribunal, "if you decline their Justice, and continue ob-

" ſtinately reſolute to be tryed only by the Con-
" ſuls, you will occaſion a Conteſt between the
" Senate and the People, and kindle a dreadful
" Sedition. You alone will be the fatal Torch;
" and who can tell how far the Flame may run?
" Set before your Eyes the frightful Image of a
" Civil War; the Laws without Force; the Ma-
" giſtrates without Power; Fury and Violence
" poſſeſſing both Parties; Fire and Sword gleam-
" ing on all Sides, and your Fellow-citizens mur-
" dering each other: The Wife calling upon you
" for her Husband, the Father for his Children;
" all loading you with Imprecations. Laſtly, ſet
" before your Eyes *Rome*, to whom the Gods
" have promiſed ſo glorious a Deſtiny, ſinking
" under the Rage of the two Parties, and buried
" beneath her own Ruins.

Valerius, who ſincerely loved his Country, ſoftned by the Idea of theſe great Calamities, cou'd not reſtrain his Tears, which fell in ſpite of himſelf; and the Tears of a Conſular, venerable for his Age and Dignities, more eloquent even than his Diſcourſe, touched the greater part of the Senators, and diſpoſed their Minds to Peace.

Then *Valerius*, finding that he was Maſter of the Aſſembly, raiſed his Voice, and, as if he had got freſh Strength, or were become another Man, ſhewed himſelf undiſguiſed, and ſpoke to them with that Authority which his Age and long Experience in Affairs gave him. " We are made to
" fear, cries he, that the Public Liberty will be
" in imminent Danger, if we grant ſo much
" Power to the People, and allow them to try
" thoſe of our Order that ſhall be accuſed by
" the Tribunes. I am perſuaded on the contrary,
" that nothing is more likely to preſerve it. The
" Republic conſiſts of two Orders, *Patricians*
" and *Plebeians*; the queſtion is, which of thoſe

Valerius's *Speech againſt the Pride of the Great.*

" two

" two Orders may moſt ſafely be truſted with
" the Guardianſhip of that ſacred *Depoſitum*, our
" Liberty. I maintain that it will be more ſe-
" cure in the Hands of the People, who deſire
" only not to be oppreſt, than in thoſe of the
" Nobles who all have a violent Thirſt of Domi-
" nion. Theſe *Patricians*, inveſted with the
" prime Magiſtracies, diſtinguiſhed by their Birth,
" their Wealth, and their Honours, will always
" be powerful enough to hold the People to their
" Duty: And the People, when they have the
" Authority of the Laws, being naturally Haters
" and jealous of all exalted Power, will by their
" Watchfulneſs over the Actions of the Great,
" ſtrike the Terror of the Severity of their Judg-
" ments into ſuch of the *Patricians* as might be
" tempted to aſpire to the Tyranny. You abo-
" liſhed the Royalty, Conſcript Fathers, becauſe
" the Authority of a ſingle Man grew exorbi-
" tant. Not ſatisfied with dividing the Sove-
" reign Power between two annual Magiſtrates,
" you gave them beſides a Council of three
" hundred Senators to be Inſpectors over their
" Conduct, and Moderators of their Authority.
" But this very Senate, ſo formidable to the Kings
" and to the Conſuls, has nothing in the Repub-
" lic to balance their Power. I know very well
" that hitherto, Thanks be to the Gods, we
" have had all the Reaſon in the World to be
" contented with their Moderation. But then I
" know not whether we are not obliged for this
" to the Fear of our Enemies abroad, and to
" thoſe continual Wars which we have been
" forced to maintain; but who will be anſwera-
" ble that for the future our Succeſſors, grow-
" ing more haughty and more potent by a long
" Peace, may not make Attempts upon the Li-
" berty of their Country, and that in the very
" Senate itſelf ſome ſtrong Faction may not ariſe,

" whoſe

" whoſe Leader may find Ways to become the Ty-
" rant of his Country, if there be not at the ſame
" time out of the Senate ſome other Power, which
" by means of the Accuſations to be brought into
" the Aſſembly of the People, may be able to
" withſtand the ambitious Enterprizes of the
" Great?

" Perhaps the Queſtion may be ſtarted, Whe-
" ther the ſame Inconveniency is not to be appre-
" hended from the part of the People, and whe-
" ther it is poſſible to make ſufficient Proviſion,
" that there ſhall not at ſome time ariſe among
" the *Plebeians*, a Head of a Party that will abuſe
" his Influence over the Minds of the Multitude,
" and under the old Pretence of defending the
" People's Intereſts, in the End oppreſs both their
" Liberty and that of the Senate? But you muſt
" needs know, that upon the leaſt Danger which
" the Republic may ſeem to be in on that ſide,
" our Conſuls have power to name a Dictator,
" whom they will never chuſe but from among
" your own Body; that this ſupreme Magiſtrate,
" the abſolute Maſter of the Lives of his Fellow-
" citizens, is alone able by his Authority to diſſi-
" pate a popular Faction; and the Wiſdom of our
" Laws has allowed him that formidable Power
" but for ſix Months, for fear he ſhou'd abuſe it,
" and employ in the Eſtabliſhment of his own Ty-
" ranny, an Authority intruſted with him only to
" deſtroy that of any other ambitious Men. Thus,
" added *Valerius*, with a mutual Inſpection the
" Senate will be watchful over the Behaviour of
" the Conſuls; the People over that of the Senate;
" and the Dictator, when the State of Affairs re-
" quires the Interpoſition of ſuch an Office, will
" ſerve as a Curb to the Ambition of both. The
" more Eyes that there are upon the Conduct of
" every Branch of our Legiſlature, the more ſe-

" cure will be our Liberty, and the more perfect " our Conſtitution.

The Senate abandons Coriolanus.

Other Senators, who were of the ſame Opinion, added, that nothing was more likely to preſerve their Liberty, than to allow every *Roman* Citizen compriſed in the *Cenſus*, the Privilege of impeaching before the Aſſembly of the People, any that ſhou'd violate the Laws; that this Right of Accuſation wou'd not only keep the Great in Awe, but alſo be ſerviceable in giving vent to the Murmurs of the People, which without ſuch Eaſement might run up to Sedition. Thus it was reſolved by Plurality of Voices to leave this Affair to the Judgment of the People. And this was the more willingly agreed to, becauſe the Petition which the Tribunes had firſt made for a *Senatusconſultum* to empower them to proſecute the Accuſed, wou'd, for the future, ſtand as a new Precedent of the Senate's Privilege and Authority. Tho' this Society knew they were about to ſacrifice an innocent Man to the Paſſion of his Enemies, the public Quiet prevailed above any private Concern, and the *Senatusconſultum* was immediately drawn. But before it was ſigned, CORIOLANUS, who found the Senate were giving him up, deſired leave to ſpeak; and having obtained it,

The Complaints made by Coriolanus.

" You know, Conſcript Fathers, ſays he, addreſ- " ſing himſelf to the Senators, what the whole " Courſe of my Life has hitherto been. You know " that this obſtinate Hatred of the People, and " that unjuſt Perſecution which I now ſuffer from " it, are occaſioned only by the inviolable Zeal " which I have always ſhewn for the Intereſt of " this Body. I will not inſiſt upon the Returns I " now meet with; the Event will ſhew the Weak- " neſs and perhaps the Malice of the Counſels which " are given you in this Affair. But ſince *Valeri-* " *us*'s Opinion has at length prevailed, let me

" know

" know at leaſt what is the Crime that I am char-
" ged with, and upon what Conditions I am deli-
" vered over to the Fury of my Adverſaries.

CORIOLANUS ſaid this to find out whether the Tribunes would ground their Accuſation upon the Speech he had made in full Senate. This was indeed the only Cauſe of the Rage of the Tribunes againſt that Senator, whom they cou'd never forgive the Propoſal he had made to aboliſh the Tribuneſhip; but as they fear'd they ſhou'd make themſelves too odious to the Senate, if they pretended to call every Senator to account for the Opinions he ſhou'd give in the public Deliberations, they declared, after conferring together, that they wou'd confine their whole Accuſation to the ſingle Crime of Tyranny. D. H. l. 7. p. 462.

" If it be ſo, replyed CORIOLANUS, and I have
" nothing to clear myſelf of but a Calumny ſo ill-
" grounded, I freely yield myſelf to the Judg-
" ment of the People, and do not oppoſe the ſign-
" ing of the *Senatusconſultum*. The Senate was not diſpleaſed to ſee the Affair take this turn, and that no mention wou'd be made of what had paſſed in the laſt Aſſembly, which muſt have brought the Honour and Authority of their Body into the Diſpute. Thus with the Conſent of all Parties, the Decree was ſigned, allowing the Perſon accuſed ſeven and twenty Days to prepare his Defence. This Decree was put into the Hands of the Tribunes, and for fear leſt notwithſtanding their Promiſe they ſhou'd ſtill pretend in the Aſſembly of the People to urge as an Article againſt CORIOLANUS, what he had advanced with relation to the Tribuneſhip, and the Price to be fixed upon Corn; they made another *Senatusconſultum*, diſcharging him from all Proſecutions that might be raiſed againſt him upon either of thoſe Accounts: A Precaution which the Senate took, that they might not have the Uneaſineſs to ſee it diſcuſſed before

the People, how far the Senators might carry the Freedom of their Opinions. The Tribunes, after having read the Senate's Decree in the first Assembly of the People, exhorted all the Citizens of the Republic, as well those that dwelt in *Rome*, as the Inhabitants of the Country, to be at the *Forum* on the Day appointed for the Decision of this Business. Most of the *Plebeians* waited impatiently till the time shou'd come when they might signalize their Hatred against CORIOLANUS, and they seemed as zealous against that Senator, as if his Destruction were the Safety of the Republic.

A new Stratagem of the Tribunes.

At length the fatal Day appeared, when this great Affair was to be decided; and an innumerable Multitude crowded the *Forum* extreamly betimes in the Morning. The Tribunes, who knew what they did, separated them by Tribes before the Senators came; whereas, from the Reign of *Servius Tullius*, the Voices had always been gathered by Centuries. This single Difference gave the deciding turn to this Affair, and always afterwards was sufficient to weigh down the Scale in favour either of the People or of the *Patricians*. The Consuls being come to the Assembly, were for keeping up the ancient Custom, not doubting but they cou'd save CORIOLANUS if the Voices were reckoned by Centuries, in which the *Patricians* themselves and the richest Citizens had the Majority. But the Tribunes, no less artful, and more resolute, alledged that in an Affair which concerned the Rights of the People and the Public Liberty, it was but just that every Citizen, without respect to Wealth or Rank, shou'd have his Vote in particular, and loudly declared they wou'd never consent that the Voices should be collected otherwise than by Tribes and by Tale. This Dispute was carried very far; but at length the Senate, who wou'd not make CORIOLANUS's Accusation a Contest of their own, and who were apprehensive

henſive their Authority wou'd be attacked directly, gave way as uſual to the Obſtinacy of the Magiſtrates of the People.

Minutius *ſpeaks before the People in favour of* Coriolanus.

However, *Minutius* the firſt Conſul, to hide, if poſſible, the Weakneſs and indeed the Scandal of this Conduct in the Senate, mounted the *Roſtrum*. He opened his Diſcourſe with the Advantages flowing from Peace and Union, and the Calamities which attended Diſcord. From theſe Common-Places, he proceeded to the Affection which the Senate had for the People, and the Favours it had heaped upon them at ſeveral times. He declared that all the Return they asked was CORIOLANUS's Diſcharge, and exhorted the *Plebeians* to conſider not ſo much a few Words which had eſcaped him in the heat of his Diſcourſe, as the important Services which that generous Citizen had done the Commonwealth: "Be ſatisfied, "*Romans*, added he, with the Submiſſion of that "great Man; and let it not be ſaid, that ſo illuſtrious a Citizen underwent the Forms of Juſtice "like a Criminal. *Sicinius* anſwered, that if ſuch Indulgence were to take place in the Government of States, none would be ſecure. That all who had done great Services, might then attempt the moſt unjuſt Actions with Impunity. That in Monarchies the King had Power to forgive; but in Commonwealths the Laws alone governed, and thoſe Laws, deaf to all Solicitations, puniſhed Guilt with the ſame Strictneſs of Juſtice, that they rewarded Virtue.

"Since, notwithſtanding our Intreaties, reply-"ed *Minutius*, you obſtinately inſiſt that CORIO-"LANUS ſhall be tried by the Suffrages of the Aſ-"ſembly, I demand that, purſuant to your Agree-"ment with the Senate, you confine your Accu-"ſation to the ſingle Article of Tyranny, and "bring Proofs and Witneſſes of this Crime. For, "added the Conſul, as to what he has ſaid in our

"Assemblies, besides that you have no Right to "take Cognizance of any thing of that nature, "the Senate has discharged him of it. And as a Proof of what he said, he read aloud a *Senatus-consultum* relating to it: He then came down from the *Rostrum*; and this was all the Assistance that the illustrious Criminal received from the timorous Policy of the Senate.

Sicinius *speaks against* Coriolanus.

Sicinius then arose, and represented to the People, That CORIOLANUS, a Descendant from the Kings of *Rome*, had long sought to make himself the Tyrant of his Country. That his Birth, his Courage, those numerous Adherents who might be called his first Subjects, made him but too suspicious. That they cou'd not be too fearful, that the Valour so much cried up by the *Patricians* wou'd be pernicious to his Fellow-citizens. That he was too guilty the moment he had rendered himself suspected and formidable. That in matter of Government, the bare Appearance of affecting the Tyranny was a Crime worthy of Death, or at least of Banishment. *Sicinius* wou'd not explain himself more openly, before he had heard CORIOLANUS's Defence, to the intent, that in his Reply he might play the whole Strength of his Accusation against the Parts most weakly defended: An Artifice which he had concerted with *Decius*, who was to speak in his turn to this Affair.

Coriolanus *pleads his own Cause.*

CORIOLANUS then presented himself in the Assembly with a Courage deserving a better Fortune, and answered the Suspicions which the Tribune had endeavoured to throw so maliciously upon his Conduct, with a bare Recital of his Services. He began with his first Campaigns, he gave an account of all the Engagements in which he had fought, the Wounds he had received, the military Honours which his Generals had bestowed upon him, and lastly, the several Posts in the Army thro' which he had gradually passed. He exposed

to

to the view of the whole People a great number of different Crowns, which he had received either for mounting the Breach firſt in Aſſaults, or for having firſt broke into the Enemy's Camp; or laſtly, for having in various Battels ſaved the Lives of a great Number of Citizens. He called them aloud, each by his Name, and cited them as Witneſſes of what he advanced. Thoſe Men, who were moſtly *Plebeians*, immediately aroſe, and gave public Teſtimony of the Obligations they lay under to him. "We have frequently, cried they, "beheld him ſingly break thro' the cloſeſt Battalions of the Enemy to ſave a Citizen oppreſs'd "with Numbers. It is by him alone we live, and "that we now ſee ourſelves in our own Country, "and in the Embraces of our Families. Our Gratitude is urged againſt him as a Crime; that "great Man, and that excellent Citizen is accuſed of evil Deſigns, becauſe they whoſe Lives "he has ſaved, attend him in his Train like his "Clients. Can we do otherwiſe without the "moſt deteſtable Baſeneſs? Can our Intereſts ever "be divided from his? If you only deſire a Fine, "we offer all we have in the World: If you "condemn him to Exile, we baniſh ourſelves "with him: And if the obſtinate Fury of his E-"nemies wou'd have his Life, let them take ours "rather. They are his, by the juſteſt of Titles: "We ſhall only reſtore him what every one of "us owes wholly to his Valour, and we ſhall "ſave to the Republic a moſt valuable Citizen.

Thoſe generous *Plebeians* in pronouncing theſe Words ſhed Floods of Tears, ſtretched out their Hands to the Aſſembly after the manner of Supplicants, and endeavoured to work upon the Multitude. Then CORIOLANUS, tearing away his Robe, ſhewed his Breaſt all covered with the Scars of a great number of Wounds which he had received:

" It was to ſave theſe worthy Men, ſays he, it " was to reſcue theſe good Citizens out of the " Hands of our Enemies, that I have a thouſand " times ventured my Life. Let the Tribunes, if " they can, ſhew how ſuch Actions can ſtand " with the treacherous Deſigns which they lay " to my Charge. Is it probable, that an Enemy " of the People wou'd expoſe himſelf to ſo many " Dangers in War to ſave thoſe very Men whom " he is accuſed of endeavouring to deſtroy in " Peace?

This Diſcourſe, ſupported by a noble Air, and that Confidence which flows from Innocence and Truth, made the People aſhamed of their Malice. The beſt Men of that Order cried out, that they ought to acquit ſo good a Citizen. But the Tribune *Decius*, alarm'd at this Change, riſing up, as he had agreed with his Colleague *Sicinius*, " Tho' " the Senate does not allow us, ſays he, to prove " the ill Deſigns of this Enemy of the People, by " the odious Words which he ſpoke in full Senate, " we ſhall not want other Proofs no leſs eſſential. " I will only mention ſome Actions where that " Spirit of Tyranny and Pride are no leſs appa- " rent. You know that according to our Laws, " the Spoils of the Enemy belong to the *Roman* " People; that neither the Soldiers, nor their " General himſelf, has Power to diſpoſe of them; " but that all ought to be ſold, and the Price ari- " ſing from them carried by a Quæſtor into the " public Treaſury; ſuch is the Uſage and Conſti- " tution of our Government. Nevertheleſs, con- " trary to theſe Laws, which are as ancient as " *Rome* itſelf, CORIOLANUS having got a conſide- " rable Booty in the Territories of the *Antiates*, di- " vided it among his Friends by his private Au- " thority; and this Tyrant gave them the Peo- " ple's Due, as the firſt Fruits of their Conſpira- " cy.

Decius's *Speech againſt* Coriolanus.

" cy. He muſt therefore either deny a notorious " Fact, and ſay, that he did not diſpoſe of this " Booty, or elſe maintain that he had Power to " do it without violating the Laws. So that with- " out ſheltering himſelf under theſe vain Excla- " mations of his Adherents, or all thoſe Scars " which he ſhews with ſo much Oſtentation, I " call upon him to anſwer to this one Article " which I urge againſt him.

It is true, CORIOLANUS had made this Diſtribution of the Plunder, or rather had ſuffered his Soldiers to take each his Share. But he was ſo far from diſpoſing of it only in favour of his Friends and Creatures, as was objected to him, that it is certain, his Soldiers, who made Part of that very People which now proſecuted him with ſo much Violence, received the whole Benefit of that Pillage. To explain this Fact, it is neceſſtry to be informed that the *Antiates* taking Advantage of the Famine with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the Diſcord which raged between the People and the Senate, had made Incurſions up to the very Gates of the City, and yet the People cou'd not be prevailed upon to march out to drive back the Enemy. CORIOLANUS could not bear this Inſult: He ask'd leave of the Conſuls to take Arms. He put himſelf at the head of his Friends, and to induce the *Plebeian* Soldiers to follow him in this Expedition, he promiſed to bring them home laden with Booty. The Soldiers, who were well acquainted with his Valour and Experience in War, and who beſides found themſelves ſharply preſt by Hunger, crowded to his Standard. CORIOLANUS, follow'd by the braveſt *Plebeians*, march'd out of *Rome*, ſurpriſed the Enemies ſcattered all over the Country, beat them in ſeveral Engagements, drove them quite into their own Territories, and at laſt forced them to ſhut themſelves up in *Antium*. He then uſed Repriſals, and while he held the Gates of that City as it were

ſealed

ſealed up by the Fear of his Arms, and the Terror of his Name, his Soldiers in their turn ravaged their Territory, cut down their Corn, and gathered in their Harveſt Sword in hand. That General gave his Conſent to their keeping this Grain, only to help them to ſupport their Wives and Children, and by their example to incite the reſt of the *Plebeians* to ſeek Proviſions boldly in the Country of their Enemies.

But thoſe of the People who had not had any hand in this Expedition, cou'd not without a ſecret Jealouſy behold CORIOLANUS's Soldiers return into *Rome* laden with Corn. *Decius*, who had diſcovered theſe Sentiments in them, reſolved to improve them to his own Ends, and doubted not but thoſe *Plebeians*, envious of the good Fortune of their Neighbours, wou'd readily condemn CORIOLANUS for a generous Action by which they themſelves had received no Benefit.

That Tribune, who was urgent and audacious, inſolently asked CORIOLANUS whether he was King of *Rome*, and by what Authority he had diſpoſed of what belonged to the Republic. CORIOLANUS, ſurpriſed at an Accuſation againſt which he had prepared no Defence, contented himſelf with giving a bare Relation of the Matter of Fact, as we have ſtated it. He repreſented that one part of the People had received the Advantage of the Spoils of the Enemy, and called with a loud Voice the Centurions and chief of the *Plebeians* that went with him in that Incurſion, to bear Teſtimony to the Truth. But thoſe who had not been Sharers in the Corn of the *Antiates*, being more numerous than CORIOLANUS's Soldiers, made ſo much Noiſe, that thoſe Captains cou'd not be heard. The Tribunes, finding the People were blown up again to their former Animoſity, laid hold of this Opportunity to collect the Suffrages; and CORIOLANUS was at length condemned to perpetual Baniſhment.

Coriolanus *condemned by the People.*

Moſt of the Nobles and *Patricians* thought themſelves in a manner Baniſhed with this great Man, who had always been the Defender and Support of their Order. At firſt they were under a general Conſternation; but Indignation and Rage quickly ſucceeded. Some reproached *Valerius*, that he had miſ-led the Senate by his artful Diſcourſes; others reproached themſelves for their Exceſs of Condeſcention to the People; all repented that they had not rather endured the laſt Extremities, than have abandoned ſo illuſtrious a Citizen to the Inſolence of a ſeditious Rabble. D. H. l. 7. Plut. *in* Coriol. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. *Year of* Rome 262.

CORIOLANUS, alone unconcerned in appearance at his Diſgrace, left the Aſſembly with the ſame Tranquility as if he had been acquitted. He went firſt to his Houſe, where he found his Mother, named *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his Wife all drowned in Tears, and in the firſt Tranſports of their Grief. He exhorted them in few Words to bear this reverſe of Fortune with Conſtancy; and after having recommended to them the Care of his Children, which were yet but Infants, he ſtrait left his Houſe and *Rome*, ſingle, and without permitting any of his Friends to accompany him, or any of his Servants or Slaves to attend him. Some *Patricians* and ſome young Senators only went with him to the Gates of the City; but without ſpeaking one Word to them, or uttering the leaſt Complaint, he parted from them, neither thanking them for what was paſt, nor intreating them about the future.

Never did the People teſtify more Joy, no not even upon vanquiſhing the greateſt Enemies of *Rome*, than they ſhewed for the Advantage they had now gained over the Senate and the Body of the Nobility. The Form of the Government received an abſolute Change by the Condemnation and Exile of CORIOLANUS; and the People, who before

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before were dependant upon the *Patricians*, were now become their Judges, and had got themselves a Right to decide the Fate of the Greatest in the Commonwealth.

D.H. l. 7. And indeed the Sovereign Authority was now passed from the Senate into the Assembly of the People, or, to speak more truly, into the Hands of their Tribunes, who, under pretence of defending the Concerns of private Persons, made themselves the Arbiters of the Government. The Consuls alone, those supreme Heads of the Republic, were the only Persons they stood in awe of. It was to weaken their Power and Credit, that they endeavoured to keep that Dignity from falling to any, but *Patricians* devoted to their Interests, or so little esteemed as to give them no Cause to be apprehensive of any thing they cou'd do. And to prepare the Multitude to give their Votes conformable to their private Views, they with great Cunning insinuated in all Assemblies, that the best Captains were not the most fit to govern a Commonwealth. That Men of their exalted Courage, being always used to an absolute Power in the Armies, brought home with their Victories a Spirit of Pride, ever dangerous in a Free State. That in the Fatal Obligation the People lay under, to chuse their Consuls only out of the Body of the *Patricians*, it was of great Importance to them to pick out Men of but moderate Talents, capable of Business, but without too great an Elevation and Superiority.

The Tribunes procure Consuls devoted to their Interest.

The People, who now only acted according to the Impression they received from their Magistrates, refused their Voices to the greatest Men in the Republic, in the *Comitia* held in the Consulate of Q. SULPITIUS and SP. LARGIUS for the Election of their Successors. The Senators and *Patricians* were formerly used to dispose as they pleased of that great Dignity, because none cou'd be

Elected, but in an Aſſembly by Centuries, wherein the Nobility had the Majority of Voices. But now the People out-number'd the *Patricians* by the artful management of the Tribunes, who found ways to gain ſome and intimidate others. C. JULIUS and P. PINARIUS RUFUS were proclaimed Conſuls: They were but indifferent Soldiers, had no Credit in the Senate, and wou'd never have attained that Dignity if they had deſerved it. D. H. l. 8. *Year of* Rome 264.

We may obſerve upon this Occaſion, that the Senate and the People, always oppoſite in their Opinions, both acted contrary to their real Intereſts, and ſeemed to aim at joyning two Things incompatible. All the *Romans*, as well *Patricians* as *Plebeians*, aſpired to the Conqueſt of *Italy*; the Command of the Armies was reſerved to the *Patricians* only, who were in Poſſeſſion of the Dignities of the State; they had no Soldiers but the *Plebeians*, whom they wou'd reduce to that timid Submiſſion and that ſervile Dependance, which they cou'd ſcarce have expected in mean Artificers, and a Populace bred up and enducated in Obſcurity. The People, on the contrary, powerful, numerous, and full of that Ruggedneſs growing from a continual Exerciſe of Arms, in order to leſſen the Authority of the Government, deſired no Conſuls and Generals, but what wou'd be indulgent, meek, complacent to the Multitude, and ſuch as wou'd behave themſelves towards their Soldiers, rather with the modeſt Manners of Equality, than with that lofty and imperious Air which the Command of Armies naturally gives a General. In order to put an end to the Miſunderſtanding which was between thoſe two Orders of the Republic, either they ought both of them joyntly to have reſolved to content themſelves peaceably with the narrow Limits of their little State, without undertaking to make Conqueſts; or the *Patricians*, if they were deſirous of ſubduing

duing their Neighbours, shou'd have allowed a greater Share in the Government to a warlike People, Citizens during Winter, but Soldiers all the Summer; and the People, on their Side, shou'd have named to the Command none but the best Generals in the Republic.

I owe this Reflection to the Events that follow; and we shall see that it was not long before the People repented their having intrusted the Government of the State, and the Command of the Armies, to two Men equally incapable of those Functions.

Retreat of Coriolanus.

CORIOLANUS, wandering about after his Departure from *Rome*, did not so much look out for an *Asylum* or Retreat, as for Means and Opportunities of avenging his Wrongs. That exalted Spirit, that *Roman* so immovable in Appearance, being now wholly given over to himself, cou'd not resist the secret Motions of his Resentment; and in the Designs which he laid for the Destruction of his Enemies, he was not ashamed to involve the Ruin of his Country it self. He spent the first Days of his Banishment at a Country Seat. His Mind, tost about by violent Passions, formed successively different Schemes. At length, after having cast his Eyes upon the several Nations, that were Neighbours and Enemies to *Rome*, *Sabins*, *Æqui*, *Tuscans*, *Volsci*, and *Hernici*, he found none that seemed more inveterate against the *Romans*, and at the same time more in a Condition to enter into a War, than the *Volsci*, the Inhabitants of the Ancient *Latium*.

Who the Volsci *were.*

They were a Republic, or a Community consisting of several little Towns united by a League, and governed by an Assembly of Deputies from each Canton. This Nation bordering upon *Rome*, and jealous of her rising Greatness, had always opposed it with remarkable Courage; but the War had not been so successful to them as they expected.

The

The *Romans* had taken from them ſeveral ſmall Boroughs, and part of their Territory; ſo that in the laſt War, the *Volſci*, after having been beaten in ſeveral Engagements, were at length reduced to a Neceſſity of ſuing for a Truce for two Years, in order to get time to repair their broken Strength: But this did not leſſen the Animoſity which burnt in their Hearts; they ſought all over *Italy* to ſtir up new Enemies againſt the *Romans*, and upon their Reſentment it was that CORIOLANUS built his hopes of engaging them to take up Arms again. But he was the moſt unfit Man in the World to perſuade them to ſuch a Deſign; he alone had done them more Miſchief than all the reſt of the *Romans*; more than once he had cut to Pieces their Troops, ravaged their Country, taken and plunder'd their Towns: the Name of CORIOLANUS was as odious as it was formidable throughout the whole Community of the *Volſci*.

Beſides, that little Republic was then governed by TULLUS ATTIUS, the General of that Nation, jealous of the Glory of CORIOLANUS, who had beat him in all the Occaſions wherever they had fought againſt each other; a Diſgrace which Men would gladly hide even from themſelves, but which they never forgive. Nothing could be more dangerous than to put himſelf into the Hands of an Enemy, who, to efface the Shame of his Defeats, might perſuade his Citizens to deſtroy him. All theſe Reaſons offered themſelves to the Mind of CORIOLANUS; but immoderate Thirſt of Vengeance prevailed in a Heart incapable of Fear, and he came to a Reſolution to apply directly to TULLUS himſelf.

Livy l. 2. Plut. *in* Coriol. D. H. init. l. 8. Val. Max. l. 5. *c.* 2. *and* 4.

Alliance of Coriolanus *with the General of the* Volſci.

He departed from his Retreat in Diſguiſe; and in the Evening entered *Antium*, the chief City of the Community of the *Volſci*. He went directly to TULLUS's Houſe, with his Face covered: He ſate him down, without ſpeaking one Word, by

by the Domestic Hearth, a Place sacred in all the Houses of ancient Paganism. A Behaviour so extraordinary, and a certain Air of Authority that never abandons great Men, surprised the Servants; they ran to tell their Master. *Tullus* came, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required of him.

Coriolanus then discovering himself: "If thou "dost not yet know me, says he, I am Caius "Marcius, my Sirname is Coriolanus, the "only Reward left me of all my Services. I am "banished from *Rome* by the Hatred of the Peo-"ple, and the Pusilanimity of the Great: I seek "Revenge; it lies in thy Power to employ my "Sword against my Foes and thy Country's. If "thy Republic will not accept of my Service, I "give my Life into thy Hands; put an end to an "old Enemy, that may else come to do more Mis-"chiefs to thy Country.

Tullus, amazed at the Greatness of his Soul, gave him his Hand: "Fear nothing, Marcius, says he; "thy Confidence is the Pledge of thy Security. "By bringing us thyself, thou givest us more "than ever thou tookest from us. And accord-"ingly we shall take care to acknowledge thy "Services better than thy Fellow-citizens. So "great a Captain may justly expect the great-"est Honours from the *Volsci*. He then led him into his Apartment, where they privately conferred about the Means of renewing the War.

Tullus's Policy in getting the Volsci *to take Arms.*

We have already said, that there was at this time a Truce between the *Volsci* and the *Romans*; the Business was to bring the former to a Resolution of breaking it. But this was not without its Difficulties, because of the late Losses and Defeats which the *Volsci* had suffered in the last War. *Tullus*, in Concert with Coriolanus, sought a Pretence to stir up their old Animosity. The *Romans*

mans were preparing to repreſent ſome public Sports, which were part of the Religion of thoſe times; the People about *Rome* flocked to them from all Parts, and there went particularly a great Number of the *Volſci*. They were diſperſed in divers Parts of the City; nay, there were ſeveral that not being able to find Hoſts to receive them lay under Tents in the Publick Places. This great multitude of Strangers gave Uneaſineſs to the Conſuls; and to add to it, TULLUS cauſed a falſe Alarm to be given, that the *Volſci* were to ſet Fire to ſeveral parts of *Rome*. The Conſuls made their Report of this to the Senate; and as they were well acquainted with the Inveteracy of that Nation, the Magiſtrates cauſed an Order to be publiſhed throughout the City, enjoyning all the *Volſci* to depart from it before Night, and even preſcribing the Gate thro' which they ſhould paſs. This Order was executed ſtrictly, and all of that Nation were inſtantly driven out of *Rome*. They carried with them each into his Canton the Shame of this ill Uſage, and a ſtrong deſire of Revenge. TULLUS met them in the way as by Chance; and after having heard the unworthy manner in which they had been ſent out of *Rome*; "Is it poſſible "(ſays he, on purpoſe to increaſe their reſent-"ment,) they cou'd drive you from a Publick "Feſtival, and as it were from an Aſſembly of "Gods and Men, like the Profaneſt Wretches "and Outlaws? Can you, after ſuch vile Treat-"ment, try to conceal from yourſelves the irrecon-"cileable Averſion which the *Romans* bear you? "Will you wait, till, ſpite of the Truce which has "made us lay down our Arms, they come and ſur-"prize you, and lay waſte your Territories once a-"gain?

An Aſſembly of the States was held tumultuouſly; the more violent ſort were for taking Arms immediately, and for carrying Fire and Sword into the

Territory of *Rome*, in revenge for the Insult they had received. But TULLUS, who directed this Affair, advised them, before they broke out, to send for CORIOLANUS into their Assembly: "The "Captain, says he, whose Valour we have so oft- "en felt, now more an Enemy to the *Romans* "than the *Volsci*, seems to have been brought hi- "ther by the Gods to restore our Affairs; and he "will give us no Counsels, whereof he will not "share the Dangers of the Execution.

The *Roman* was called, and introduced into the Assembly: He appear'd with a Countenance sad, but resolute at the same time; all present fixed their Eyes attentively upon a Man that had been more dreadful to them, than all the rest of the *Romans* put together; and they listned to his Words with that Respect, which is always paid to Merit under Persecution.

Coriolanus's *Speech to the* Volsci.

"None of you can be ignorant, says he to "them, that I am condemned to perpetual Ba- "nishment, through the Malice or Weakness of "those who are the Authors or Accomplices of "my Disgrace. If I had sought only a Place of "Refuge, I might have retired either among the "*Latins* our Allies, or to some *Roman* Colony. "But a Life so obscure had been to me insup- "portable, and I always thought it was better "for a Man to throw it up, than to see him- "self reduced to such a Condition, as to be able "neither to serve his Friends, nor be revenged "upon his Enemies. This is my Temper: I "wou'd deserve by my Sword the *Asylum* I ask "of you: Let us joyn our common Resent- "ments. You know full well that those ungrate- "ful Citizens, who have banished me so unjust- "ly, are your most inveterate Foes: *Rome*, that "Haughty City, threatens you with her Chains. "It is your Interest to weaken such formidable "Neighbours: I find, with pleasure, that you

"are

" are diſpoſed to renew the War, and I confeſs " it is the only way to ſtop the Progreſs of that " ambitious Nation. But in order to render this " War ſucceſsful, it is neceſſary that it ſhou'd be " juſt in the ſight of the Gods, or at leaſt appear " ſo before Men; it is neceſſary that the Mo- " tive or Pretence upon which you ſhall take up " Arms, be ſuch as may engage your Neigh- " bours, and procure you new Allies. Feign " that it is your Deſire to convert the Truce " which is between the two Nations into a ſolid " Peace: Let the Ambaſſadors that you ſend to " *Rome* upon this Account, demand only this one " Condition, namely, a Reſtitution of the Lands " which have been taken from you, either by " the chance of War, or in compulſive Treaties. " You are not to be informed that the Territory " of *Rome*, at the Foundation of that City, was " at moſt but of five or ſix Miles Extent. That " little Canton is inſenſibly become a great Coun- " try by the Conqueſts, or to ſpeak more truly, " by the Uſurpations of the *Romans*. *Volſci*, *Sa-* " *bines*, *Æqui*, *Albans*, *Tuſcans*, *Latins*, in a word, " there is not a Nation in their Neighbourhood " from which they have not wreſted ſome of her " Towns, and part of her Territory. Theſe are " ſo many Allies that will join with you in an " Affair which is common to you all, and con- " cerns each of you alike.

" If the *Romans*, intimidated by the Terror " of your Arms, conſent to reſtore to you the " Cities, the Towns, and the Lands which they " have ſtripp'd you of, then, after your Example, " the other Nations of *Italy* will demand each " the Domain that they have loſt: which will at " one ſtroke reduce that proud Nation to the " ſame ſtate of Weakneſs in which it was in its " Origin. Or if ſhe undertakes, as I doubt not " ſhe will, to hold thoſe Uſurpations by force of

" Arms, then in a War ſo equitable you will have " both Gods and Men your Friends. Your Al- " lies will tye themſelves more cloſely to you; " there will be formed a powerful League, capa- " ble of deſtroying, or at leaſt of humbling ſo " haughty a Republic. I will not mention the " little Capacity I have gained in War: Soldier " or Captain, in whatever Rank you place me, I " will gladly ſacrifice my Life to revenge you of " our common Enemies.

This Diſcourſe was heard with pleaſure, as are all thoſe that engage and flatter our Paſſions. War was reſolv'd on; the Community of the *Volſci* intruſted the Conduct of it to TULLUS and CORIOLANUS; and to bind the *Roman* more ſtrictly to the *Volſcian* Nation, they conferred on him the Quality of Senator. At the ſame time, according to his Advice, they diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Rome*; where they were no ſooner arrived, but they repreſented to the Senate that their Superiors, after the Example of the *Latins*, aſpired to the Honour of being Allies of the *Roman* People; but in order to make this Union everlaſting, " We demand, ſaid thoſe Ambaſſadors, " that the Republic reſtore to us the Towns " and Lands which we have loſt by the chance " of War. This will be the ſureſt Pledge of a " ſolid and laſting Peace; otherwiſe we cannot " avoid taking Poſſeſſion of them again by force " of Arms.

The Ambaſſadors being retired, the Senate did not ſpend much time in deliberation: It was unknown to *Rome* what it was to yield to Menaces; and it was a Fundamental Maxim of their Government, not to ſubmit to an Enemy, even tho' Victorious; ſo that the Ambaſſadors were ſoon called in again. The firſt Conſul replied in few words, that Fear wou'd never make the *Romans* give up what they had conquered by their Valour;

Senate's Anſwer to the Volſcian *Ambaſſadors.*

lour; and that if the *Volſci* took Arms the firſt, the *Romans* would lay them down the laſt; with this they were diſmiſs'd. The Return of theſe Ambaſſadors was follow'd by a Declaration of War. TULLUS and CORIOLANUS, who foreſaw the Senate's Anſwer, held their Troops in readineſs to enter upon Action. TULLUS, with a Body of Reſerve, ſtaid in the Country to defend the Entrance of it againſt the Enemy, while CORIOLANUS at the head of the main Army threw himſelf into the Territory of the *Romans* and their Allies, before the Conſuls had taken any meaſures for reſiſting him. According to *Livy*, he firſt drove from *Circæum* a Colony of *Romans* that were eſtabliſhed there; but *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* ſays, that the Inhabitants, intimidated by the Approach of the Enemy, opened their Gates, and that CORIOLANUS only obliged them to furniſh him with Proviſions and Cloaths for his Soldiers. He then took from the *Romans*, *Satricum*, *Longulum*, *Poluſca*, and *Corioli*, which they had won but a little before from the *Volſci*; he alſo made himſelf Maſter of *Corbio*, *Vitellium*, *Trebia*, *Labicum*, and *Pedum*; *Bola*, for making Reſiſtance, was carried Sword in hand, and the Inhabitants given up to the Fury of an Enemy victorious and enraged. CORIOLANUS's Soldiers, diſperſing about the Country, carried Fire and Sword in all Parts. But in this general Plunder and Burning, they had private Orders to ſpare the Houſes and States of the *Patricians*. CORIO*lanus* affected ſo remarkable a diſtinction, either out of his former Love for thoſe of his own Order; or, which is more probable, to render the Senate ſuſpicious to the People, and to increaſe the Diſſentions which were between them.

War declared.

The Conqueſts made by Coriolanus.

This Conduct had all the Effect which he expected from it. The People failed not to accuſe the Senate publickly of having an Underſtanding with CORIOLANUS, and of getting him on purpoſe

Diſmay and Conſternation among the Romans.

to come at the Head of an Army, on purpoſe to aboliſh the Tribunitian Power. The *Patricians* on their ſide upbraided the People, that they had drove ſo great a Captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the Party of the Enemy. Suſpicion, Diſtruſt, Hatred, reigned in both Parties; and in this Diſorder they thought leſs of repulſing the *Volſci*, than of decrying and ruining the Domeſtic Foe. The two Conſuls, hid behind the Walls of *Rome*, made Levies but ſlowly. SPURIUS NAUTIUS, and SEXTUS FURIUS, who ſucceeded them, did not ſhew more Courage and Reſolution. It was viſible they were afraid to venture themſelves againſt ſo great a General. The People themſelves, and their Tribunes, who were ſo fierce in the public *Forum*, were in no haſte to give their Names to be inrolled; none cared for ſtirring out of *Rome*, whether they had no great Opinion of the Capacity of their Leaders, or becauſe they found themſelves deſerted by their Allies who had changed ſides with Fortune.

Rome *inveſted.* CORIOLANUS, finding no Army in the Field to oppoſe his Deſigns, advances ſtill on, takes *Lavinium*, and at length comes and encamps at the *Cluilian* Trenches five Miles diſtance from *Rome*.

Upon the Fame of this great run of Succeſs, moſt of the *Volſci* flock to CORIOLANUS's Army. The very Soldiers of TULLUS himſelf, drawn by the hopes of the Sack and Plunder of *Rome*, leave their General, and declare they acknowledge no other but the *Roman:* This was in a manner a freſh Victory which CORIOLANUS gained over TULLUS, and which left a ſharp Reſentment in that *Volſcian*'s Breaſt. The Eyes of all *Italy* were turned upon the *Romans* and the *Volſci*, who only by the Change of their Generals had felt ſo great a one in their Fortune: So true it is, that the Strength of a State conſiſts not ſo much in the Number and Bravery of its Troops, as in the Experience of

of him who commands them. The Conſternation was general at *Rome*. The People, who from the top of the Walls behold the Enemies ſpread all over the Country, with loud Cries demand Peace. They ſay openly in the *Forum*, that they ſhou'd annul the Sentence of Condemnation which had paſt upon CORIOLANUS, and recall him from his Exile: In a word, that very People which had but lately baniſhed him with ſo much Fury, now call for his Return with equal Violence.

Moſt of the *Patricians* oppoſed it, either to remove the Suſpicion of their having kept up the leaſt Intelligence with him, or only out of that Spirit of Generoſity ſo common among the *Romans*, which made them never more averſe to Peace than upon ill Succeſs. There then iſſued from the Senate that reſolute and haughty Anſwer, but which they maintained but indifferently afterwards, That the *Romans* wou'd never grant any thing to a Rebel, ſo long as he remained in Arms.

CORIOLANUS, acquainted and enraged with this Reply, breaks up his Camp, marches directly to *Rome*, and inveſts the Place as if he meant to beſiege it. A Deſign ſo daring throws both the *Patricians* and the People into an equal Conſternation; all their Hearts and Reſolutions fail them; Hatred gives way to Fear. The Senate and People now jointly concur to ſue for Peace: They ſend Deputies to CORIOLANUS, nay and chuſe out for this Negotiation five Men of Conſular Dignity, and ſuch of the Senate as had moſt firmly adhered to his Intereſts.

M. Minucius Poſthumus, C. Minius, Sp. Largius, P. Pinarius, Q. Sulpicius, *Deputies ſent from the Senate to* Coriolanus.

The *Volſci* made theſe Deputies paſs thro' two Ranks of Soldiers ſtanding to their Arms, and CORIOLANUS ſurrounded by his chief Officers received them ſeated in his Tribunal, with the State of an Enemy that was reſolved to preſcribe the Law.

The *Romans* exhorted him in modeſt and pathetick Terms to give Peace to the two Nations;

and conjured him not to push the Advantages which his Arms had given the *Volsci*, so far as to forget the Welfare of his Country. But they received only this severe Answer; That they might obtain a Treaty, if they restored to the *Volsci* the Country which they had taken from them; if they gave that Nation the same Right of Citizens which they had granted to the *Latins*, and if they recalled the *Roman* Colonies from the Towns which they had got possession of unjustly. CORIOLANUS having used this haughty Strain as to what related to the Concerns of the Public, came to a more gentle Behaviour towards the Deputies. He offered them in particular to do them all the kind Offices that they cou'd justly expect from an old Friend. But the only Favour those generous *Romans* asked of him, was, That he wou'd withdraw his Troops from the Territory of *Rome*, while the Senate and People came to a final Determination either for Peace or War. CORIOLANUS, for their sakes, granted thirty days Truce, to be observed only with respect to the proper Territory of *Rome:* He then dismissed the Deputies, who promised that the Senate shou'd return him a decisive Answer in the thirty Days. He spent that time in taking other *Latin* Towns, and after that Expedition, appeared once more at the Gates of *Rome* with his whole Army.

Coriolanus's *Answer.*

Other Deputies were immediately sent to him, who conjured him to exact nothing but what might be agreeable to the Dignity of the *Roman* Name; but CORIOLANUS, naturally stern and inflexible, without any apparent Anger, but also without Pity, coldly replied, that the *Romans* had no other choice but Restitution or War; that he allowed them only three Days more to come to a Resolution, and that after the Expiration of this further Term, they shou'd not be permitted to come to his Camp again.

The

The Return of these Envoys augmented the Public Consternation. Every Body runs to Arms; some post themselves upon the Ramparts; others stand to the Guard of the Gates, for fear of being betrayed by the private Adherents of CORIOLANUS; while some fortify themselves in their very Houses, as if the Enemy had already been Master of the City. In this Confusion there was neither Discipline nor Command. The Consuls, wholly possessed by their Fear, seemed to have renounced the Duties of their Office: The Tribunes were not now so much as heard of. In this universal Terror the common People seemed as it were to receive Orders only from their Apprehensions: They were no longer the same haughty and intrepid *Romans* that they used to be; the Courage of the Nation seemed to be gone over with CORIOLANUS into the Camp of the *Volsci*. The Senate assembles; Expedient upon Expedient is proposed; no Design is formed becoming the *Roman* Honour: all determines in sending new Deputies to the Enemy, and to work upon him the more, they resolve to employ the Ministers of their Religion. *Rome besieged.*

The Priests, the Sacrificers, the Augurs, and the Guardians of the sacred Things, vested in their ceremonial Habits, march forth of *Rome* in a kind of Procession. They enter the Enemy's Camp with a Countenance grave and modest, and such as was likely to strike an Awe upon the Multitude. He that was to speak for all, beseeches CORIOLANUS by the Respect he owed to the Gods, and by all that was most sacred in Religion, to grant Peace to his Country; but they found him equally hard and inexorable. He told them that what they asked lay wholly in the Power of the *Romans*, who might have Peace, whenever they thought fit to restore the Countries which they usurped from their Neighbours. He added, he was not ignorant that the first Kings of *Rome*, to stir *The Priests deputed to go to* Coriolanus.

ſtir up the Ambition of the *Romans*, and juſtify their Robberies, had been ſo politic as to ſpread abroad, that the Gods decreed the Empire of the World to the City of *Rome*. That the Senate had taken great Pains to keep up an Opinion which Religion had made reverend; and that the People, prejudiced and infatuated with thoſe Viſions, looked upon all Wars to be juſt and holy, which tended to the Advancement of their Country's Greatneſs. But that the Neighbours of *Rome* did not think themſelves bound to ſubmit themſelves to their Yoke, upon the Credit of Revelations ſo ſuſpicious and ſelf-deſigning. That the preſent State of Affairs ſufficiently proved their Falſity; that he muſt frankly tell them he was ſure of carrying the Town very ſhortly. That the *Romans*, to avoid reſtoring Lands unjuſtly acquired, ran the hazard of loſing their rightful Dominion; and that for his part, he proteſted before the Gods that he was innocent of all the Blood that was likely to be ſhed thro' their Obſtinacy in detaining the Fruit of their Uſurpations. Having then ſhewn ſome outward Tokens of Reſpect and Veneration which he thought due to the Sanctity of their Character, he ſent them back without abating any thing in the leaſt of his former Demands.

When the People ſaw them return to *Rome* without having been able to obtain any Conceſſion, they look'd upon the Republic to be juſt upon the Brink of Deſtruction. The Temples were crowded with old Men, Women and Children, who all with Tears in their Eyes, and proſtrate before the Altars, implored of the Gods the Preſervation of their Country.

Valeria's Reſolution. Such was the melancholy face of Things in the City, when a *Roman* Lady named *Valeria*, Siſter of *Valerius Publicola*, moved by a kind of divine Inſpiration, came out of the Capitol, accompanied by a great Number of Women of her own Condition,

Condition, to whom ſhe had communicated her Deſign, and went ſtrait to the Houſe of *Veturia* the Mother of CORIOLANUS. They found her with *Volumnia*, the Wife of that *Roman*, deploring their own Misfortunes and thoſe of *Rome*.

Valeria accoſted them with a look of Sorrow ſuitable to the preſent Condition of the Republic: "We are *Roman* Ladies, ſays ſhe to them, that "have recourſe to *Roman* Ladies for the Safety of "our common Country. O illuſtrious Women, "do not ſuffer *Rome* to become a Prey to the "*Volſci*, and our Enemies to triumph over our "Liberty. Go along with us even to the Camp "of CORIOLANUS, to beg of him Peace for his "Fellow-citizens: All our hope is in the remark-"able Veneration, and the tender Love he always "had for ſo good a Mother, and ſo virtuous a "Wife. Implore, conjure, demand. So good "a Man can never withſtand your Tears. We "will all follow you with our Children: We will "throw ourſelves at his Feet, and who knows "but the Gods, moved by our honeſt Sorrow, "may preſerve a City whoſe Defence ſeems whol-"ly abandon'd by Men?

The Tears which *Valeria* ſhed in abundance interrupted this affectionate Diſcourſe, which *Veturia* anſwered with equal Sadneſs: "You apply, "*Valeria*, to a very weak Expedient, when you "addreſs yourſelves to two Women buried be-"neath a Load of Affliction. Since that unfortu-"nate Day when the People, in their Fury, ſo un-"juſtly baniſhed CORIOLANUS, we have never ſeen "any thing of that filial Reſpect, and that ten-"der Affection which he till then had always "ſhewn for his Mother, and for a Wife ever dear "to him. When he returned from the Aſſembly "where he had been condemned, he look'd up-"on us with a fierce Air, and after having con-"tinued for ſome time in a gloomy Silence, 'Tis "done,

Veturia's Anſwer to Valeria.

" done, says he to us, CORIOLANUS is condemn-
" ed; our ungrateful Citizens have baniſhed me
" for ever from the Boſom of my Country. Sup-
" port this Blow of Fortune with a Courage wor-
" thy of two *Roman* Women. I recommend my
" Children to your care; Farewel; I now depart,
" and leave without regret a City where all Men
" of Virtue are hated and perſecuted: With theſe
words he broke away. We began to follow him;
I held his eldeſt Son by the Hand, and *Volumnia*,
all drowned in Tears, carried the youngeſt in
her Arms. Then turning to us; " Come no
" further, says he, and give over your vain Com-
" plaints. You have now no Son, my Mother;
" and thou, *Volumnia*, the beſt of Women, thy
" Husband is for ever loſt to thee. May the
" Gods grant that thou mayeſt quickly find ano-
" ther, worthy of thy Virtue, and more fortu-
" nate than CORIOLANUS! His Wife, at theſe
" cruel and inhuman Words, ſwoons away with
" Grief, and while I run to her Aſſiſtance, he
" leaves us abruptly with the Hard-heartedneſs of
" a Barbarian, without ſo much as receiving our
" laſt Embraces, and without giving us, in ſo in-
" tolerable an Affliction, the ſlighteſt Proof of
" Compaſſion for our Miſery. He departs from
" *Rome*, alone, without Servants, without Mo-
" ney, and without even telling us to what part
" of the World he wou'd direct his Steps. Ever
" ſince he left us he has never in the leaſt enqui-
" red after his Family, nor given us any account
" of his Welfare; ſo that it ſeems as if in the ge-
" neral Hatred which he ſhews to his Country,
" his Mother and his Wife were his greateſt Ene-
" mies.

" What Succeſs then can you expect from our
" Intreaties to a Man ſo implacable? Can two
" Women bend that ſtubborn Heart, which the
" Miniſters of Religion themſelves could not
" ſoften?

" ſoften? And indeed what ſhall I ſay to him?
" What can I reaſonably deſire of him? That he
" wou'd pardon ungrateful Citizens, who have
" treated him like a Man blackened with the
" fouleſt Crimes? That he would take Compaſſi-
" on upon a violent Populace which had none for
" his Innocence? And that he wou'd betray a Na-
" tion, which has not only opened him an *Aſy-*
" *lum*, but has even preferred him to her moſt
" illuſtrious Citizens in the Command of her Ar-
" mies? With what Brow can I preſume to ask
" him to abandon ſuch generous Protectors, in
" order to deliver himſelf again into the Hands of
" his moſt bitter Enemies? Can a *Roman* Mother,
" and a *Roman* Wife, with Decency exact from
" a Son and a Husband things which muſt diſho-
" nour him before both Gods and Men? Mourn-
" ful Circumſtance, in which we have not Power
" to hate the moſt formidable Enemy of our
" Country! Give us up therefore to our unhappy
" Deſtiny; leave us buried in our juſt Afflictions.

Valeria and the other Ladies that accompanied her, made no Anſwer but with their Tears. Some embrace her Knees; others beſeech *Volumnia* to join her Prayers to theirs; all conjure *Veturia* not to refuſe her Country this laſt Aſſiſtance. The Mother of CORIOLANUS, overcome by Intreaties ſo urgent, promiſes to take this new Deputation upon her, if the Senate agrees to it. *Valeria* gave advice of it to the Conſuls, who made the Propoſal of it in full Senate. The Affair was long debated: Some oppoſed it, fearing leſt CORIOLANUS ſhou'd detain all thoſe Ladies, who were of the chief Families in *Rome*, and by that means force them to open their Gates without ſo much as drawing his Sword. Some were even for ſecuring his Mother, his Wife and his Children, as ſo many Hoſtages that might bring him to a better Temper: But the Majority approved this Deputation,

The Senate ſends a Deputation of Ladies to Coriolanus.

tion, saying, that the Gods, who had inspired *Valeria* with this pious Design, wou'd give it Success; and that no Treachery was to be apprehended from a Man of the Character of CORIOLANUS, fierce indeed, severe and inflexible, but not capable of violating the Law of Nations.

This Advice carried it, and next Day all the most illustrious of the *Roman* Ladies repaired to *Veturia*'s House. There they presently mounted a number of Chariots which the Consuls had ordered to be made ready for them, and without any Guard took the way to the Enemy's Camp.

CORIOLANUS perceiving from afar that long train of Coaches and Chariots, sent out Persons to see what it shou'd mean: Word was quickly brought him that it was his Mother, his Wife, and a great number of other Women coming to the Camp. He was at first surprized that *Roman* Ladies, bred up in that austere Retirement which was such an Honour to them, shou'd prevail upon themselves to come unguarded into an Army of Foes, among Soldiers, who are commonly licentious and unruly. He judged what Views the *Romans* had in so unheard-of a Deputation: He conceived that this was the last Expedient the Senate cou'd think of to work upon him. He determined to receive them with the same Respect that he had paid to the Ministers of Religion; that is, to give those venerable Women all the Observance which was due to them, but in the main to grant them none of their Requests. But he reckoned upon a savage Resoluteness which was not in his Nature; and he no sooner beheld his Mother and Wife at the Head of this Troop of *Roman* Ladies, but struck and moved with the sight of Persons so dear to him, he ran hastily to embrace them. At first they expressed their Joy upon seeing each other again only by their Tears; but after they had given some time to these first workings of

Nature, *Veturia* beginning to enter upon the Subject for which ſhe came: CORIOLANUS, that he might not make himſelf ſuſpicious to the *Volſci*, called the principal Officers of his Army to be Witneſſes of what paſſed in this Interview. They were no ſooner come, but *Veturia*, to engage her Son to have the more regard to the Requeſt ſhe came to make, told him, That all thoſe *Roman* Ladies, whom he knew, and who were of the beſt Families in *Rome*, had omitted nothing, during his Abſence, that might give Comfort to her and *Volumnia* his Wife. That touched with the Calamities of the War, and apprehending the fatal Conſequences of the Siege of *Rome*, they were come to beg Peace at his Hands once more: She conjured him in the Name of the Gods to grant it to his Country, and to turn the Power of his Arms on other Foes.

CORIOLANUS replyed, that he ſhou'd offend thoſe very Gods, whom he had called to be Witneſſes of the Faith he had given the *Volſci*, if he granted her ſo unjuſt a Demand. That he cou'd not think of betraying the Intereſts of thoſe who had not only given him an honourable Rank in their Senate, but had alſo truſted him with the Command of their Army. That he had found at *Antium* more Honours and Wealth than he had loſt at *Rome* by the Ingratitude of his Fellow-Citizens; and that nothing wou'd be wanting to his Happineſs, if ſhe wou'd pleaſe to be Partner in his Fortune, and come and enjoy among the *Volſci* the Honours which they wou'd pay to the Mother of their General.

The *Volſcian* Officers, that were preſent at this Conference, ſhewed by their Applauſes how much they were pleaſed with this Anſwer; but *Veturia*, without entering into a compariſon between *Rome* and *Antium*, which wou'd probably have offended them, contented her ſelf with telling her Son,

ſhe

she wou'd never exact any thing of him that might be a Blemish upon his Honour; but that without being any ways deficient in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a Peace, that shou'd be equally advantageous to both Nations. " And " can you, my Son, added she, raising her Voice, " refuse a Proposal so equitable, unless you pre- " fer a cruel and obstinate Revenge to your Mo- " ther's Tears and Intreaties? Consider that your " Reply is to decide the Fate of my Glory, nay " and of my Life too. If I carry back with me " to *Rome* the hopes of an approaching Peace; " if I return thither with the Assurances of your " Reconciliation; with what Transports of Joy " shall I be received by our Fellow-Citizens? " Those few Days which the Gods ordain me yet " to pass on Earth, shall be surrounded with Glo- " ry and with Honours. Nay, my Happiness " shall not end with this mortal Life; and if it be " true, that there are different Places for our Souls " after Death, I shall not need to have the least " fear of those obscure and gloomy Caverns where " the Wicked are confined: The *Elysian* Fields, " that delicious Abode set apart for the Virtuous, " will not even suffice for my Reward. After " having saved *Rome*, the City so dear to *Jupiter*, " I may presume to hope for a place in that pure " and sublime Region of the Air, which is sup- " posed to be inhabited by the Children of the " Gods. But I give myself up too much to these " pleasing Views. What will become of me, if " thou persistest in that implacable Hatred, whose " fatal Effects we have already felt too much? Our " Colonies expelled by thy Arms, from most of " the Cities which acknowledged the Empire of " *Rome*; thy unbridled Soldiers spread thro' the " Land, and carrying Fire and Sword along with " them where-ever they go, ought they not to " have assuaged thy Thirst of Vengeance? And

Veturia's *Speech to* Coriola- nus.

" haſt thou had the Heart to lay waſte the Coun-
" try which gave thee Birth, and nouriſh'd thee
" ſo long? The moment thou ſaweſt the Towers
" of *Rome* from afar, did it not come into thy
" Mind, that thy Gods, thy Houſe, thy Mother,
" thy Wife, and thy Children were inclos'd with-
" in her Walls? Doſt thou believe, that covered
" with the Shame of a contemptuous Denial, I
" can patiently wait till thy Arms have pronounced
" our Doom? A *Roman* Woman knows how to
" die, when her Honour calls upon her ſo to do;
" and if I cannot move thee, know I have reſolved
" to give myſelf Death in thy Preſence. Thou
" ſhalt not march to *Rome* without treading over
" the Body of her to whom thou oweſt thy Be-
" ing; and if a ſight of ſo much Horror has not
" Power to ſtop thy Fury, remember at leaſt, that
" by means of thy endeavouring to bring *Rome*
" into Chains, thy Wife and Children cannot a-
" void a ſpeedy Death, or a tedious Servitude.

CORIOLANUS, toſt with the violence of contending Paſſions, ſtood unable to make Reply: Hatred and deſire of Revenge balanced in his Heart the Impreſſion which ſo moving a Diſcourſe made, in ſpite of all his Reſolution. *Veturia*, ſeeing he was ſhaken, but being afraid his Rage might prevail above his Pity: " Why doſt thou not anſwer
" me, my Son, ſaid ſhe? wilt thou not know thy
" Mother? Haſt thou forgot the Care I took
" of thy Infancy? And canſt Thou, who makeſt
" War only to revenge thy ſelf of the Ingrati-
" tude of thy Fellow-citizens, deny me the firſt
" Favour I ever asked thee, without blackening
" thy ſelf with the very ſame Crime? If I required
" thee to betray the *Volſci*, who have given thee
" ſo generous a Reception, thou would'ſt have
" juſt Cauſe to reject ſuch a Propoſal. But *Ve-*
" *turia* is uncapable of putting her Son upon any
" thing Baſe: Thy Glory is more dear to me,

" even than my own Life. I only desire thee to " withdraw thy Troops from the Walls of *Rome*: " Allow us a Truce for a Year, that in this In- " terval Measures may be taken to procure a so- " lid Peace. Grant this, my Son, I conjure thee " by *Jupiter*, all-Good and all-Powerful, who " presides at the Capitol; by the *Manes* of thy " Father and of thy Ancestors. If my Prayers " and Tears are not able to move thee, behold " thy Mother at thy Feet, imploring of thee the " Preservation of her Country:" And with these Words, melting in Tears, she embraces his Knees; his Wife and Children do the same, and all the *Roman* Ladies that were with her beg for Mercy by their Cries and Tears.

Answer of Coriolanus *to his Mother.*

CORIOLANUS transported, and as it were besides himself to see *Veturia* at his Feet, cries out: "Ah! " my Mother, what is it you do?" And tenderly pressing her Hand in lifting her up: " *Rome* is sa- " ved, says he to her, but your Son is lost;" well foreseeing that the *Volsci* wou'd never forgive him the Regard he was going to pay to her Intreaties. He then took her in private with his Wife, and agreed with them, that he wou'd endeavour to obtain the Consent of the Principal Officers in his Army, for raising the Blockade. That he wou'd use all his Credit and Endeavours to bring the Community of the *Volsci* to terms of Accommodation; and that if the former Success had made them obstinate, and he cou'd not prevail, he wou'd lay down his Command, and retire to some neutral City; that his Friends might then manage the Repeal of his Sentence, and his Return to *Rome*. He then took his leave of his Wife and Mother, after having tenderly embraced them, and thought of nothing now but how to obtain an honourable Peace for his Country.

He raises the Siege.

The next Day he called a Council of War; he there represented the Difficulty of forming the Siege

Siege of a City which had a formidable Army for its Garriſon, and where there were as many Soldiers as there were Inhabitants; and concluded for a Retreat. No body contradicted his Opinion; tho' after what had paſſed they cou'd not be ignorant of the Motives of this new Reſolution. The Army immediately began its March; and the *Volſci*, more affected with the filial Reſpect he had ſhewn for his Mother, than with their own Intereſt, retired all to their ſeveral Cantons.

But *Tullus*, the General, who had received him at firſt with ſo much Humanity, jealous of the Eſteem and Intereſt he had gained with the Soldiers, laid hold of this Opportunity to deſtroy him; and he no ſooner ſaw him returned to the City of *Antium*, but he publickly gave out that this Exile had betrayed the Intereſts of the *Volſci*. CORIOLANUS, in order to clear himſelf, deſired he might anſwer for his Conduct before the General Council of the Nation; but *Tullus*, who no leſs feared his Eloquence than his Valour, raiſed a Tumult, by Advantage of which his Agents threw themſelves upon the *Roman* and ſtabbed him; the miſerable and almoſt unavoidable Fate of all thoſe who are ſo unhappy as to take Arms againſt their Country. *Death of* Coriolanus.

Such was the End of this Great Man, too Haughty indeed for a Republican, but who by his great Qualities and Services deſerved a better Treatment both from the *Volſci* and the *Romans*. When his Death was known at *Rome*, the People ſhewed neither Joy nor Grief; and perhaps they were not ſorry that the *Volſci* had freed them from the Perplexity of recalling a *Patrician* whom they no longer feared, and ſtill hated.

End of the Second Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK III.

Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus, *a* Patrician, *conceives Hopes of getting himſelf acknowledged King of* Rome, *by means of the Diviſions that reign in the City. To bring the People over to his ſide, he propoſes in the Senate to have an Account taken of the conquered Lands, in order to divide them equally among the Citizens. This is what was called the* Agrarian *Law.* Virginius, Caſſius's *Colleague in the Conſulſhip, and* C. Rabuleïus, *Tribune of the People, joyn to hinder the execution of the Conſul's Propoſal.*

Propoſal. A Decree of the Senate, empowering Q. Fabius *and* C. Cornelius, *Conſuls elect, to name Commiſſioners for the Partition of the Lands.* Caſſius *condemned to die.* Menenius, *the Son of* Agrippa, *and* Sp. Servilius, *are impeached by the Tribunes, for having in their Conſulſhip oppoſed the Nomination of thoſe Commiſſioners. The firſt is fined, and ſhuts himſelf up in his Houſe, where he ſtarves himſelf to Death: The ſecond diſperſes the Danger by his Conſtancy.* Volero. *A Law propoſed by him for the Aſſemblies by Tribes. This Law paſſes in ſpite of* Appius. *The Tribunes in conjunction with the Conſuls demand the Execution of the Senate's Decree for the Diviſion of the conquered Lands.* Appius *prevents this Demand from taking effect. The Death of that Conſular gives the Tribunes room to proſecute this Buſineſs anew; but without Succeſs.*

THIS Averſion in the People to all that bore the Name of *Patricians*, aroſe only from the Jealouſy of the Government. But as it had hitherto coſt the Senate no more than the Eſtabliſhment of the Tribunes, and the Baniſhment of a private Man, the zealous Republicans were not diſpleaſed with this Oppoſition of Intereſts, which by keeping an even Balance between the Credit of the Great, and the People's Power, ſerved to maintain the Public Liberty. Such was the Diſpoſition of the People's Minds, when an Ambitious *Patrician* took it in his Head, that by driving the Contention ſomewhat further, and making himſelf the Chief of one of the Parties, he might deſtroy them both, and upon their Ruins lay the Foundation of his own Advancement.

This *Patrician* was named Sp. Cassius Viscellinus; he had commanded Armies, obtained the Honour of a Triumph, and was then actually the third time Consul. He was a Man naturally Vain and Ostentatious, always exaggerating his own Services, despising those of others, and ascribing to himself alone all the Glory in any good Success. Blinded by inordinate Ambition, he had the Presumption to aspire to the Royalty so solemnly proscribed by the Laws; and in the secret Design, which he had long before formed of restoring it in his own Person, he did not hesitate what Party he shou'd join in with. He resolved first to gain the Affection of the People, who always give themselves up implicitely to those who know how to catch them with the specious Bait of promoting their Interest.

Year of Rome 267, *or* 268.

Character of Sp. Cassius.

His Partiality openly appeared during his second Consulate, at the Time when the Establishment of the Tribunes was in dispute. It is true, his politic Condescentions might be attributed to his Desire of seeing the People re-united to the Senate; but his late suspicious Conduct with relation both to the *Hernici*, and the *Roman* People, entirely convinced the Senate that his Views and Interests were different from those of the Republic.

The Methods he took to win on the People.

The *Hernici*, or *Hernicians*, were one of those petty Nations neighbouring upon *Rome*, who, as we have already said, inhabited part of *Latium*. After the Death of Coriolanus, they entered into a League with the *Volsci* against the *Romans*. *Aquilius*, who was then Consul with *T. Sicinius*, had defeated them. Cassius, who succeeded him in the Consulship, and in the Conduct of that War, reduced them by the mere Terror of his Arms to sue for Peace; they applied to the Senate, which referred the Affair to the Consul. Cassius taking advantage of the Power given him

Year of Rome 266, 267, *or* 268.

D. H. l. 8. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

by

by this Commiſſion, without ſo much as making the Senate acquainted with the Articles of the Treaty, granted Peace to the *Hernici*, and left them the third part of their Territory. By the ſame Treaty he gave them the deſired Title of *Allies* and *Citizens* of *Rome*; ſo that he treated the Vanquiſhed as favourably as if they had been Victorious. In order to make himſelf Friends both within and without the State, he ſet apart for the *Latins* one half of what remained of the Lands of the *Hernici*, and the other half he divided among the poor *Plebeians* of *Rome*. He even endeavoured to recover out of the Hands of ſome private Perſons Parcels of Land which he ſaid belonged to the Public, and which he intended to have diſtributed alſo among the poorer Citizens. He had before demanded the Honour of the Triumph, with as much Confidence as if he had gained ſome glorious Victory; and obtained by his Credit a Reward which uſed never to be granted but to Generals who had fought ſome important Battel with great Succeſs, and had left at leaſt five thouſand of the Enemy dead upon the ſpot. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

The next Day after his Triumph, according to cuſtom, he gave an Account, in an Aſſembly of the People, of all that he had done for the Glory and Service of the Republic, during the laſt Campaign. As his Exploits that Year afforded him nothing ſufficiently ſhining, he ran chiefly upon his former Services. He repreſented that in his firſt Conſulate he had overcome the *Sabines*; that his ſecond Conſulate was made illuſtrious by the ſhare he had in the Erection of the Tribuneſhip; that now in his third he had already incorporated the *Hernici* into the Commonwealth, and propoſed before the end of it to render the Condition of the *Plebeians* ſo happy, that they ſhou'd no longer envy that of the *Patricians*. He Id. D. H. Ibid.

added, that he promised himself the *Roman* People must needs allow that they had never received so many Benefits before from one single Citizen.

This Discourse was heard with Pleasure by a People always fond of Novelty. The Senate on the contrary, who were fearful of Cassius's ambitious Spirit, were not without Uneasiness. Every body in *Rome*, thro' different Motives, impatiently expected the Explanation of this mighty Promise. Cassius afterwards said a great many things in praise of the *Plebeians*; he observed that *Rome* owed to them not only her Liberty, but also the Empire she had acquired over one part of her Neighbours. He added, that to him it seemed very unjust that so brave a People, who daily exposed their Lives to enlarge the Bounds of the Republic, shou'd languish in a shameful Poverty; while the Senate, the *Patricians*, and the whole Body of the Nobility, alone enjoy'd the Fruits of their Conquests. And to shew the bottom of his Design he added, that it was his Advice, that, in order to bring the Condition of the poor Citizens to some Equality with that of the Rich, and enable them to subsist, they shou'd take an exact account of all the Lands which had been won from the Enemies, and which the *Patricians* had seized to their own use, and make a new Division of them, without any regard to those who upon different Pretences had appropriated them to themselves; and that such a Division wou'd give the poor *Plebeians* an Ability of bringing up Children useful to the State. He added, that nothing but so equitable a Partition cou'd restore the Union and Equality which there ought to be among the Citizens of one and the same Republic: It was then, says *Livy*, that the *Agrarian Law* was proposed for the first time.

The first Proposal of the Agrarian *Law.*

Dec. 1. l. 2.

It

It wou'd be difficult to expreſs the Surpriſe, Indignation, and Rage of the Senate, at the mention of ſuch a Propoſal. But in order to give a true Notion to what a Degree it was ruinous to the Great, and deſirable by the People, I think I cannot avoid repeating part of what I have already ſaid, with relation to theſe public Lands. When the *Romans* had gained any conſiderable Advantage over their Neighbours, they never granted them Peace without taking from them part of their Territory, which was immediately incorporated with that of *Rome*. This was indeed the moſt uſual Deſign of their Wars, and the chief Fruit which they looked for from the Victory. Few are to learn, and I have ſaid elſewhere, that one part of theſe conquered Lands were ſold to reimburſe the State for the Expence of the War, another Portion was diſtributed *gratis* among poor *Plebeians* newly ſettled at *Rome*, who had no Inheritance of their own; ſometimes a number of Parcels was let out to Farm, and by way of Feoffment, and the Occupiers paid the Rent in Money, in Fruits or in Corn, which was ſold, and the Produce brought into the public Treaſury. And laſtly, as the chief Wealth of the *Romans* in thoſe Days conſiſted in Cattle and Flocks, what remained of theſe conquered Lands was left in Commons, and to ſerve for Paſtures.

The Cuſtom of the ancient Romans *with regard to the conquer'd Lands.*

This Diſpoſition baniſhed Poverty out of the Republic, and bound the Citizens to its Defence. But the greedy *Patricians* deprived the common People of this Subſiſtence: Tracts of Land of prodigious Extent, ſet apart for the Support of the whole State, became inſenſibly the Patrimony of a few private Perſons. If any Parcel were ſold to defray the Charges of a War, the Senators who were the only rich Men in thoſe times, being the Directors of the Sale, cauſed it

That ancient Cuſtom altered, through the Avarice of the Great.

to be adjudged to themselves at a very inconsiderable Price; so that the public Treasury hardly received any Advantage from it. By means of the same Authority they took either under borrowed Names, or else in their own, the Lands that ought to have been let out to Farm to poor *Plebeians*, to help them to maintain their Children. Oftentimes by ill-designed Loans and accumulated Usuries, they got the little Inheritances which the People had received from their Ancestors yielded to them. Lastly, the Rich, by setting the Land-marks of their Estates further and further, by degrees had swallowed up and confounded most of the Commons; so that neither the State in general, nor the *Plebeians* in particular, received any Benefit worth mentioning from these foreign Lands. The *Patricians* who had got into Possession of them, had inclosed them with Walls: Fine Structures were built upon them; Troops of Slaves taken Prisoners in War manured them for the account of the Great Men of *Rome*, and now a long Prescription had covered these Usurpations. The Senators and *Patricians* had hardly any other Income besides these public Lands, which had passed successively thro' different Families by Deaths, Partition, or Sale.

The Consequences of Cassius's *Proposal in the Senate.*

Whatever Shew of Equity there was in Cassius's Proposal, it was impossible to bring it into a Law without ruining at once the Senate and chief Nobility, and raising an infinite Number of Law-Suits about Trusts among all the Families in *Rome*, and accordingly most of the Senators stood up against him with great Animosity. Without any respect to his Dignity, they publickly reproached him with his Pride, his Ambition, and the Desire he had of stirring up new Troubles in the Commonwealth. They loudly declared Cassius did not act

act ſo much like a Conſul as like a ſeditious Tribune.

CASSIUS always expected to find a general Averſion to his Propoſal in the great Men of *Rome*. But as he flatter'd himſelf that the People, always fond of Novelties, and enticed by the Hopes of the Partition of the Lands, wou'd declare in his favour, he convened a new Aſſembly; and among a great many Things which he ſaid in contempt of the Nobility and in favour of the People, he added, that it ſhou'd be wholly the fault of this laſt Order of the Republic, if they did not free themſelves at one Stroke from the Indigence to which the Avarice of the *Patricians* had reduced them: That all they had to do for this purpoſe, was to make a ſolemn Law for the Partition of the conquered Lands, of which he had already in ſome meaſure propoſed to them the Scheme in what he thought of doing with the Territory of the *Hernici*; that moreover they ought to cauſe the Money which the poor *Plebeians* had paid for the Corn that the King of *Sicily* had ſent as a Preſent to *Rome* to be repaid to them; and that by theſe juſt Laws they wou'd for ever baniſh Poverty, Envy, and Diſcord.

The Tribunes oppoſe the Law.

The People at firſt received this Propoſal with great Applauſes; but moſt of the Tribunes, who cou'd not without Jealouſy ſee that a *Patrician* and a Conſul ſhou'd go about to gain to himſelf the Confidence of the Multitude to their Prejudice, kept a profound Silence, which hindered their Adherents and the Heads of the Tribes from declaring openly for the Law. Not but that both the one and the other were ſenſible of the Advantage it wou'd be of to the People, as we ſhall find hereafter; but they were unwilling that the People ſhou'd be obliged for it to a *Patrician*, and that a Conſul ſhou'd be looked upon as the Author of the Law. Thus, without either approving

proving or opposing it openly, they waited for some other Opportunity, when they themselves might have in the Eyes of the People the Merit of getting it passed.

Virginius *opposes his Colleague.*

Virginius, Cassius's Colleague in the Consulate, did not attack it directly: he pretended on the contrary to be sensible of the Justice of it in general; but to elude the Publication of it, he highly blamed the use that Cassius intended to put it to, pretending that by this treacherous Division of the Lands of the *Hernici*, he had set the Conquerors and the Vanquished upon a shameful Equality. At the same time he let fall some Suspicions against his Colleague, as if by that extraordinary Distribution proposed in favour of their old Enemies, he had sought to make them his Creatures to the Prejudice of the State itself; "What Reason is there, cried he, for restoring "to the *Hernici* the third part of a Territory so "lawfully conquered? What can be his End, in "giving the *Latins* the better part of what re-"mains, unless it be to plane himself a way to the "Tyranny? *Rome* has cause to fear that those "Nations, still jealous of her Greatness notwith-"standing their new Alliance, may one day come "to set *Cassius* at their Head like a second *Corio-*"*lanus*, and under his Conduct attempt to render "themselves Masters of the Government.

Cassius *sends for a great number of* Latins *and* Hernici *to come to* Rome.

This Comparison with *Coriolanus*, which recalled to the People's Minds the thought of a *Patrician* whose Memory was so odious to them, cooled their first Heat for the Reception of this Law. The Tribunes themselves gave Intimations that the Author was suspicious to them too. Cassius perceiving his Party grew weaker than ever, sent underhand for a great Number of *Latins* and *Hernici* to come to *Rome*, telling them, that in Quality of *Roman* Citizens, it concerned them to be present at the next Assembly to defend their Rights,

Rights, and to get a Ratification of the Partition of Lands which he had propoſed in their Favour.

Upon this, great Numbers of thoſe new Citizens immediately flocked to *Rome*. CASSIUS was indifferent whether the Law was received or no; he had propoſed it only with a View of raiſing a Sedition, wherein he might have an Opportunity of putting himſelf at the Head of one of the Parties, which might be able to make him Maſter of the Government. The Coldneſs which appeared in the Tribunes diſconcerted all his Meaſures. To engage the People to join him, he never went thro' the City without a numerous Guard of *Latins* and *Hernici*. *Virginius*, in order to diſperſe this Faction, publiſhed an Edict, requiring all the Allies, that were not actually Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City forthwith. CASSIUS oppoſed this Edict, and a Herald by his Order publiſhed another directly to the contrary Effect, permitting all ſuch as were inrolled Citizens to remain there. This Oppoſition raiſed new Commotions in the City: The two Magiſtrates were reſolved to be equally obeyed: Their Lictors were quarrelling and fighting every moment; and this Competition between two Parties, which both grew ſtronger and ſtronger daily, was juſt degenerating into a Civil War, when one of the Tribunes of the People, named *C. Rabuleïus*, undertook to reſtore Quiet to the Republic, and, like an able Tribune, to procure the whole Advantage for the People. D. H. l. 8.

Artful Conduct of the Tribune Rabuleïus.

He remonſtrated in a public Aſſembly, that it was an eaſy matter to reconcile the Opinions of the two Conſuls; that both were agreed upon the Juſtice of the Partition of the Lands of the *Hernici* in favour of the *Roman* People; only that CASSIUS was for extending the Liberality to the *Hernici* and the *Latins*, Allies of the Republic.

That

That he thought the beſt Way wou'd be to begin with doing Juſtice to the *Roman* People, which they both agreed ought to be done; and that as to the Propoſal made by Cassius in favour of the Allies, but oppoſed by his Colleague, the Deciſion of that ſhou'd be deferred to another time. That as to all the other conquered Lands which made the greateſt part of the *Roman* Territory, the Senate and People wou'd deliberate upon it at leiſure as the Importance of ſo great an Affair required, and take ſuch Meaſures as ſhou'd be moſt agreeable to the Good of the Commonwealth.

Under theſe Appearances of an equitable and moderate Conduct, the Tribune concealed his Deſign of puſhing the Buſineſs of the Partition more briskly than ever, as ſoon as he had got it out of Cassius's Hands. By this means he made that the Aſſembly broke up without coming to any Determination as to the general Diviſion of all the conquered Lands. Cassius, aſhamed of the ill Succeſs of his ambitious Aims, hid himſelf in his Houſe, whence (pretending Sickneſs) he never ſtirred.

Partition of the Lands reſolved on in the Senate.

Mean while the Senate, who ſaw through *Rabuleius*'s private Deſigns, found plainly that the Buſineſs of the Partition of the Lands was only delayed. They aſſembled extraordinarily to prevent betimes any Attempt that the Tribunes might make to promote it. Several Opinions were offered: the Advice of *Appius*, that intrepid Defender of the Laws, was, that in order to appeaſe the Peoples juſt Complaints, the Senate ſhou'd name ten Commiſſioners to take an exact Information of all ſuch Lands as belonged originally to the Public. That they ſhou'd ſell one part of theſe for the uſe of the Treaſury, diſtribute another part among the poorer Citizens, who had no Inheritance in Land, reſtore the Commons, and place ſufficient Land-marks where-ever they were neceſſary,

neceſſary, the want of which had cauſed the Abuſes that were then complained of. That as to the remainder of thoſe Lands, they ſhou'd never let them out for above five Years at a time, and that always at the full Rent, and that the Produce ſhou'd be employed in providing Corn and Pay for the *Plebeians* that went to War. That this Regulation wou'd hinder them from thinking any more of the Partition of the Lands; and that they wou'd undoubtedly prefer Corn, Money, and a certain Subſiſtence during the whole Campaign, to a Slip of Land which they muſt cultivate with the Sweat of their Brows; and that he knew no ſurer way of reforming the ancient Abuſes, than to reſtore Things to the Spirit of their Primitive Inſtitution.

A. Sempronius Atratinus, a Man much reſpected by the Senate, highly approved of *Appius*'s Advice: he only added to it, that they ought to give the Allies and thoſe Nations who had been lately made Citizens of *Rome*, to underſtand, that it was not reaſonable they ſhou'd have a ſhare of the Lands which the *Romans* had conquered before their Alliance; that each Nation, tho' Allies, might diſpoſe as they thought fit of their own Territory and Conqueſts; but that as for ſuch Lands as ſhou'd be won by their joint Forces, the Republic, in the Diviſion of them, wou'd have regard to the Aſſiſtance ſhe received from her Allies. *The* Patricians *elude the Partition.*

The Advice of theſe two Senators formed the *Senatusconſultum*. But as the Eſtates of the principal Men in *Rome* lay wholly in thoſe conquered Lands, moſt of the Senators, who wou'd have been ruined by ſuch a Regulation, got it added to the *Senatusconſultum*, in order to ſtave off the Execution of it, that whereas the Conſulate of CASSIUS and *Virginius* was upon the Point of expiring, nothing ſhou'd be done in it till *Q. Fabius*

bius and *Ser. Cornelius*, the Conſuls elect, entered upon their Office, and that they ſhou'd be impowered to name the Decemvirs, who were to regulate the Affair of the Partition of the Lands. Nay, and the chief of the Senate reſolved among themſelves to impeach CASSIUS, and to proſecute him ſeverely, in order to intimidate all ſuch as might be tempted for the future to ſtir in this Affair.

Year of Rome 268. Caſſius *is proſecuted.*

Some Authors tell us, that as ſoon as the two new Conſuls had taken Poſſeſſion of their Dignity, CASSIUS's own Father was the Man that accuſed him to the Senate of having endeavoured to make himſelf the Tyrant of his Country; and that this ſevere *Roman*, like another *Brutus*, having laid the Proofs of his Crime before a full Senate, took his Son home to his Houſe, and there cauſed him to be put to Death in the Preſence of his whole Family. But *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* informs us, that it was *Ceſo Fabius*, Brother to the firſt Conſul, and *Valerius*, the Grandſon of *Publicola*, both Quæſtors, that made themſelves Parties in this Affair, and who having convened the Aſſembly of the People according to the Power appertaining to their Office, accuſed CASSIUS of having introduced foreign Troops into the City, with deſign to oppreſs the Liberty of his Countrymen.

Val. Max. l. 5. c. 8. D. H. l. 8.

CASSIUS appeared in the Aſſembly dreſs'd in Mourning, in a Habit conformable to his preſent Circumſtances. He repreſented to the People, to make his Defence their Intereſt, that it was them the Senate attacked in his Perſon, and that he was odious to the *Patricians*, only becauſe he had propoſed to oblige them to ſhare with the People the Lands which they had unjuſtly ſeiz'd to their own uſe. But that generous People, who in their greateſt Indigence thought Slavery far more inſupportable than Poverty, heard with a general Indignation every thing that came from a Man of

ſuch

ſuch ſuſpicious Conduct. Thus he ſaw himſelf at once abandoned by the People, and proſecuted by the Senate; and he was condemned by the unanimous Voice of all his Fellow-citizens. The late Example of *Coriolanus*, whoſe Exile had proved ſo dangerous, made that CASSIUS was ſentenced to die. That Conſular, who had been honoured with two Triumphs, was thrown down from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock; and the *Patricians* had the Satisfaction of deſtroying by the Hands of the *Plebeians* themſelves, a declared Advocate for the Intereſts of the People.

Caſſius *condemned to death.*

A Proceeding ſo reſolute quite ſtunned the Multitude. It was ſome time before a word was heard again of making Enquiries about the Public Lands; the Execution of the *Senatusconſultum*, and the Nomination of the Decemvirs, lay ſuſpended. This great Affair came to be one of thoſe State-Myſteries which no Body dares to touch upon: The People, intimidated, kept in a profound Silence for ſome time; but their Neceſſities inſenſibly revived their Complaints. The common People began to regret their Loſs in *Caſſius:* they blamed themſelves for his Death; and with a late Acknowledgment, which was little better than downright Ingratitude, gave uſeleſs Praiſes to the Memory of a Man whom themſelves had deſtroyed.

The Senate, fearing another *Caſſius* might get into the Conſulſhip, uſed all imaginable Precautions to keep that ſupreme Dignity from falling to any but *Patricians* whom they might ſafely rely upon; and they were in a manner abſolute Directors of that Election, which was never made but in Aſſemblies by Centuries, where the *Patricians* had the Majority of Voices. Thus *Lucius Æmilius* and *Ceſo Fabius*, *M. Fabius* and *Lucius Valerius*, attained ſucceſſively to the Conſulſhip. In the Reſolution which the Senate had taken of

Senate's Precautions to avoid the Partition.

Year of Rome 269, 270.

letting the *Senatusconsultum* drop, they thought they cou'd not trust this their secret Design to any more safely than to *Ceso Fabius*, and *Lucius Valerius*, the Accusers of Cassius, and the Men who had precipitated him in a manner with their own Hands from the *Tarpeian* Rock. The People saw the Artfulness of this Management; they perceived that none were brought into the Consulship but *Patricians* that wou'd be sure never to nominate the Decemvirs that were to proceed in the Division of the Lands. In these Circumstances, the War, that was indeed almost continual, against the *Volsci*, being broke out afresh, and the two Consuls, *M. Fabius* and *L. Valerius*, who were then in Post, having desired some Recruits to compleat their Legions, a Tribune named *C. Menius* opposed it, and publickly protested that he wou'd never suffer any *Plebeian* to give his Name to be inrolled till the Consuls had first brought the *Senatusconsultum* into a full Assembly of the People, and named those Commissioners that were to put it in Execution. The Consuls, to extricate themselves from this Perplexity, and to get over the Tribunes Opposition, carried their Tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the Jurisdiction of the Tribunes, whose Power and Functions were confined within the City Walls. The Consuls then sent a Summons to the *Plebeians* that were to march into the Field. These, relying upon the Tribunes Opposition, did not appear, and were under no Apprehensions, while that subsisted, that the Consuls wou'd offer to seize them. But those Magistrates took another Method to make themselves obeyed; and without ever returning to *Rome*, being unwilling to have any Contest with the Tribunes, they gave order for demolishing the Country Seats and cutting down the Trees belonging to the chief *Plebeians* that had refused to attend their Summons.

D. H. l. 8. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

This military Execution brought the People to their Duty; they immediately ran and offered themſelves before the Conſuls to receive their Commands. Every one took Arms; they marched againſt the Enemy; the War was carried on without any remarkable Succeſs; and the Conſuls detained the Soldiers in the Field as long as poſſible, to avoid new Seditions.

Tumult on account of the Agrarian *Law.*

But when they were returned, and the time was come for the Election of new Conſuls, Diſcord raged out again with more Fury than ever. The principal Men of the Senate, who were the moſt nearly touched by the Inquiſition into the public Lands, deſigned that Poſt for *Appius Claudius*, the Son of him we have already ſpoke of. He had inherited from his Father a conſiderable Eſtate, a great number of Clients, and particularly that Haughtineſs and Reſolution which had made him ſo odious to the Multitude. Accordingly the People wou'd not hear of him, but demanded ſome of thoſe ancient Senators that had ſhewn themſelves moſt their Friends. Each Party remained obſtinate in the Reſolution they had taken. The Senate flattered themſelves that they ſhou'd carry this Affair with a high hand in an Aſſembly by Centuries. The Conſuls call'd it as uſual, and according to the Power annexed to their Dignity; but the People, by the Inſtigation of their Tribunes, made ſo much Noiſe, and there were ſuch violent and bitter Conteſts and Diſputes, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the Election that Day. This was the private aim of the Tribunes, who, with a Preſumptuouſneſs never before heard of, convened a ſecond Aſſembly for next Day. The Conſuls and the Senate in a Body did not fail to be at it; and they demanded of the Tribunes by what Authority they durſt take upon them to preſide at the Election of Conſuls. They replyed, that their Concern for the People's Wel-

fare obliged them to prevent their having Tyrants imposed upon them for Magistrates; and that if the Senate did not chuse Men of unquestionable Characters, they shou'd find ways to prevent any Election that might be prejudicial to the People. Some Senators, provoked at this Audaciousness, were immediately for having the first Consul name a Dictator; who by the sovereign and absolute Power of his Office, might severely punish the Authors of these Innovations. But as there was room to fear that the People wou'd openly revolt, the wiser and more moderate part of the Senate thought it wou'd be imprudent in such a Conjuncture to venture the supreme Authority among a whole People work'd up to Fury. A more gentle Course was taken. The Senate contented themselves with creating an *Inter-Rex*, as was practis'd under the Kings during any Vacancy of the Throne. This short-lived Magistracy was given to *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, who delivered it over to *Sp. Largius*. That Magistrate was of a Spirit inclining to a Reconciliation, and probably fearing lest if the Senate continued obstinate to promote *Appius* to the Consulate, the Opposition of the Tribunes and People might at length raise a dangerous Sedition, he thought it was the Republic's Interest to put off *Appius*'s Election to more peaceful and favourable Times; and he managed both Parties so artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate somewhat of its Demands. It was concluded that the Election shou'd still be made as usual, and by the Votes of the Centuries; and the two Parties agreed in the choice of the Consuls.

An Inter-Rex.

D. H. l. 8. *Year of* Rome 271.

A Union being brought about upon these Conditions, they proceeded only for form sake to the Election of the Consuls. The Tribunes got that Dignity bestowed upon *C. Julius Iulus*, whom every Body knew to be of the People's Party, and a Slave to the Tribunes. The *Patricians* named

Consul chosen by the People.

for

for his Colleague *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, deſcended of a Family made illuſtrious by almoſt continual Conſulates, and who without having ever offended the People, had nevertheleſs upon all Occaſions ſtood up for the Rights and Prerogatives of the Senate.

The People flattered themſelves with Hopes that having a Conſul at their Devotion, they ſhould now get the Commiſſioners to be named, and at length obtain the Partition of the Lands. But a plain Inſtance was then ſeen of the Difference there is between thoſe that raiſe themſelves to high Dignities by baſe and abject Compliances, and thoſe generous Men whoſe perſonal Merits, as well as Birth, naturally place thoſe Honours upon them. *C. Julius* did indeed make ſome ſlight Attempt to publiſh the *Senatusconſultum*, but ſcarce durſt he ſo much as maintain his Opinion againſt that of *Fabius*. The Senate's Conſul, if we may uſe ſuch an Expreſſion, had aſſumed ſo great a Superiority over the People's, tho' their Dignities were equal, that there ſeemed to be but one in the Republic all this Year. *Fabius* obliged him to go out of *Rome* along with him, and to march againſt the *Æqui* and the *Veïentes*. They were Nations of *Tuſcany* that had made Inroads upon the Territories of the *Romans*: Theſe latter made Repriſals, and this Expedition terminated in the Ravage of the Country.

Theſe petty Wars were the ordinary Expedients uſed by the Conſuls, who to divert the common Complaints of the People, led them out of *Rome* upon that Pretence, and carried the War abroad with intent to give their Soldiers, at the Enemy's Coſt, a Subſiſtence that might make them forget their old Claims. But theſe continual Wars made them ſtill more fierce, and the next Peace generally revived, in thoſe unruly Spirits, the Diſcord which the War had only ſuſpended.

It broke out afreſh upon the Election of the Conſuls. The People, being tied up to chuſe none but Nobles, cou'd at leaſt have wiſhed they might have had only ſuch of that Order as ſeemed to be *Plebeians* in their Inclination. They even affirmed loudly in the Aſſemblies, that 'twas enough the People wou'd ſuffer the Conſuls to be always taken out of the Body of *Patricians*, without being forced likewiſe to receive ſuch as were moſt averſe to the Partition of the Lands. The Senate, on the contrary, reſerved that Dignity only for thoſe in whom they found moſt Courage and Reſolution; each Party ſtood to its Pretenſions with equal warmth; but at length the Affair was accommodated. They agreed to go by the ſame Rule as in the laſt Election. The People again named their Conſul, tho' ſtill one of the *Patricians*: it was *Sp. Furius*; and the Senate choſe *Ceſo Fabius*, the Man that even in his Quæſtorſhip had deſtroyed *Caſſius*. The Buſineſs then in Agitation was to continue the War againſt the *Æqui* and the *Tuſcans*, who had renewed their Incurſions. The new Conſuls ordered the People to take Arms, but a Tribune named *Sp. Icilius* vigorouſly oppoſed it. He declared he wou'd make the ſame Oppoſition againſt all the Decrees that ſhou'd iſſue from the Senate, let it be upon what Affair it wou'd, till the *Senatusconſultum* was brought into the Aſſembly of the People, and the Commiſſioners named in purſuance thereof. That it was juſt the ſame thing to him whether the Country was ravaged by Enemies, or unjuſtly poſſeſſed by Uſurpers. In the mean while the *Æqui* and *Veïentes* put all to Fire and Sword in the Territory of *Rome*, without the Senate's being able to find Troops to reſiſt them, thro' the Obſtinacy of the Tribune who hinder'd their making any Levy. In this Perplexity, *Appius*, whom we ſpoke of before, thought of an Expedient which proved very ſucceſsful.

Year of Rome 272. Liv. l. 2. D. H. in principio l. 9. Zonaras, l. 2. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 3.

Diviſion ſown among the Tribunes.

ſucceſsful. He repreſented that the Power of the Tribuneſhip was formidable only by the Union of the Tribunes; and that if the oppoſition of a ſingle Tribune was of force to ſuſpend the Execution of a Decree of the Senate, it had the ſame Prerogative as to the Deliberations of his Colleagues. That it was not impoſſible there might be a Jealouſy among them; that their Buſineſs was to endeavour to bring it to a Diviſion, and privately to engage ſome one of them to enter into the Senate's Intereſts. This Advice was approved and followed; the Senators applied themſelves to gain the Friendſhip of the Tribunes, and they ſucceeded: Four of that College declared in a public Aſſembly, that they cou'd not bear that the Enemies, by favour of the Diviſions that reigned in the City, ſhou'd thus lay waſte the Country with Impunity. *Icilius* had the Shame and Mortification of ſeeing his Oppoſition over-ruled; the People took Arms, and followed the Conſuls to the War. For ſeveral Years there was a kind of alternative of Troubles at home and Wars abroad, nor cou'd the People all this while bring about the Publication of the Law. They laid the whole blame upon the Conſuls, and to be revenged of them, Soldiers were found that were not aſhamed, at their return from the Army, to turn Accuſers or Witneſſes againſt their Generals, as if they had wanted Courage or Capacity in the Command of the Army. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

Conſuls accuſed.

Scarce was a Conſul out of his Office, but he was immediately cited before the Aſſembly of the People, that is indeed before a Tribunal where his moſt inveterate Enemies were his Judges. Thus *Menenius*, the Son of *Agrippa*, was accuſed, upon Pretence that during his Conſulate the Enemy had taken the Fort of *Cremera*. The Tribunes, *Q. Conſidius* and *T. Genutius*, loudly demanded his Death; but the Senate and all his Friends ſoli-

Menenius *condemn'd.*

Year of Rome 277. D. H. l. 9.

cited so earnestly in his Behalf, that he was only condemned to pay a Fine that amounted to two thousand *Asses*, that is, about twenty Crowns of our Money, a very inconsiderable Sum with regard to the Time we write in, but of great consequence in that Age, and in a Republic where the prime Magistrates lived by the Labour of their Hands. Nay we may reckon this Fine excessive, with respect to *Menenius*, whose Father had left him no other Patrimony but his Glory and his Poverty. His Friends offered generously to pay it for him, but he wou'd not suffer it; but pierced to the Heart with the Injustice and Ingratitude of his Fellow-citizens, he shut himself up in his House, where Grief and Hunger soon dispatched him.

The Consul Sp. Servilius *accused.* *Year of* Rome 278.

The People fell next upon another Consular, named *Spurius Servilius*, who succeeded *Menenius* in the Consulship. It was charged upon him as a Crime, that in a Battel, wherein he had defeated the *Tuscans*, he had lost some Troops by pursuing the Enemy with more Courage than Prudence. But this was only the Pretence; the Victory he had gained was a full Apology for that fault. The real Crime of both these Consulars was the having omitted, during their Consulates, to name the Commissioners that were to make the Partition of the Lands.

Servilius, tho' not unacquainted with the People's Bitterness against him, had Recourse neither to Intreaties, nor the Interest of his Friends to escape their Rage. He faced the Danger boldly, and without changing either his Habit or his Countenance, appeared before the Assembly of the People according to his Summons, and addressing his Speech to the Multitude, 'If I am sent for 'hither, says he, to give an Account of what 'pass'd in the last Battle where I commanded, I 'am ready to do it. But if this is only a Pretence

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'to deſtroy me, as I ſuſpect, I deſire you wou'd 'ſave me a needleſs Trouble. Here is my Body 'and my Life, which you may diſpoſe of juſt as 'you pleaſe.

Some of the more moderate among the People having cried out that he ſhou'd take Courage, and go on with his Defence: 'Since I am to deal 'with Judges, and not with Enemies, added he, 'I am to inform you, *Romans*, that I was made 'Conſul with *Virginius* at a time when the Ene- 'my was Maſter of the Country, and Famine and 'Diſſention raged in the City. It was in this 'perplexing Conjuncture that I was called to the 'Government of the State. I marched againſt 'the Enemies, whom I defeated in two Battels, 'and forced to ſhut themſelves up in their Towns. 'And while they were in a manner block'd up 'there by the Terror of your Arms, I in my 'turn ravaged their Territory; I got a prodigi- 'ous quantity of Corn which I brought to *Rome*, 'where I reſtored Plenty. What Fault have I 'committed thus far? Am I guilty of any Crime 'in having won two Victories? But, ſay my 'Adverſaries, I loſt a great many Men in the laſt 'Engagement: Are Battels then to be fought a- 'gainſt Nations long hardned to War, and that 'defend themſelves ſtoutly, without Blood being 'ſhed on both Sides? What Deity has undertaken 'for the *Roman* People that they ſhall gain Vi- 'ctories without Loſs? Is any Man here to learn 'that Glory is acquired only by great Danger? 'I engaged with Troops more numerous than 'thoſe you truſted to my Conduct; however, 'after an obſtinate Fight I broke them. I put 'their Legions in Diſorder, and at length they 'fled. Cou'd I refuſe to follow Victory, when 'ſhe went before me? Was it indeed in my Power 'to reſtrain your Soldiers, who were carried a- 'way by their Courage, and who warmly purſued

D. H. l. 9.

Servilius's *Defence.*

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'a ſcattered Enemy? If I had ſounded a Retreat, 'if I had led our Soldiers back to their Camp, 'wou'd not your Tribunes this Day have accuſed 'me of having an Underſtanding with the Foe? 'If your Enemies rallied again, if they were ſup- 'ported by a Body of Troops that advanced to 'their Aid; in a word, if we were obliged to 'begin the Battel quite afreſh; and if in this A- 'ction I loſt ſome Men, is it not the uſual Chance 'of War? Can you find Generals that will un- 'dertake the Command of your Armies, if you 'make it a Condition that they ſhall bring home 'again to *Rome* every Soldier that goes out with 'them into the Field? Do not then enquire whe- 'ther at the End of a Battel I have loſt ſome Men, 'but judge of my Conduct by my Victory, and 'by the Effects of that Victory. If it be true 'that I drove your Enemies out of your Terri- 'tory; that I killed great numbers of their Men 'in two Battels; that I forced the ſhattered Re- 'mains of their Armies to ſhut themſelves up in 'their ſtrong Towns; and that I enriched *Rome* 'and your Soldiers with the Booty which they 'got in the Enemy's Country: Let your Tri- 'bunes ſtand up and tell me to my Face wherein 'I have failed in the Duties of a good General. 'But that is not what I fear; theſe Accuſations 'are only uſed as a Colour for their exerciſing 'with impunity the Hatred and Animoſity which 'they bear to the Senate and the whole Order of 'Patricians. My true Crime, as well as that of 'the illuſtrious *Menenius*, is our neither of us ha- 'ving nominated, during our Conſulates, thoſe 'Decemvirs whom you have ſo long ſighed for. 'But was it poſſible we ſhou'd do it in the Hurry 'and Tumult of Arms, and while our Enemies 'were at our Gates, and Diſcord in the City? 'And if we cou'd have done it, know, *Romans*, 'that *Servilius* wou'd never have given Authority

'to

'to a Law which cannot be put in Practice without raiſing a general Diſturbance in every Family, without occaſioning an infinite number of Law-Suits, and without ruining the chief Families of the Republick, and who are her firmeſt Support. Will you never ask any thing of the Senate but what is prejudicial to the common Good of our Country, and never ask but only by Seditions? If a Senator dares but repreſent to you the Injuſtice of your Pretenſions; if a Conſul does not ſpeak the ſeditious Language of your Tribunes; if he defends courageouſly the Sovereign Power with which he is inveſted, you immediately cry out, A Tyrant! Scarce is he out of his Poſt, but he is overwhelmed with Accuſations. Thus by your unjuſt *Plebiſcitum* you took away the Life of *Menenius*, no leſs a great Captain than a good Citizen. Ought you not to die with ſhame at the Thoughts of having ſo cruelly perſecuted the Son of that *Menenius Agrippa* to whom you are obliged for your Tribunes, and for that very Power which now makes you ſo furious? You may perhaps think I ſpeak with too much Freedom in the preſent State of my Fortune; but I fear not Death; condemn me if you dare; Life cannot but be inſupportable to a General, that is reduced to anſwer for his very Victories: And at worſt, to undergo the ſame Fate with *Menenius* can never be a Diſhonour to me.

This generous *Patrician* diſperſed the Danger by his Courage; and the People, aſhamed of the Death of *Menenius*, durſt not condemn *Servilius*, who was acquitted by a majority of Voices. The Preſervation of that Conſular, eſcaped from the Fury of the Tribunes, did not make them abate any thing of their Pretenſions as to the Diviſion of the Lands. They continued to infect the Multitude with the uſual Poiſon of their ſeditious Harangues;

Year of Rome, 278.

Liv. l. 2. D. H. l. 9.

rangues; at length, one of those Tribunes named
D. H. l. 9. *Cn. Genucius*, a daring enterprizing Man, and not
Uneloquent, publickly cited *L. Emilius Mammercus* and *Vop. Julius*, both Consuls that Year, to
Year of Rome 280. nominate immediately the Commissioners, that, according to the *Senatusconsultum*, were to proceed upon the Partition of the Lands, and upon setting up Land-marks, that might put a stop to all Usurpations for the future.

Partition of the Lands eluded. The two Consuls, to elude his Demand, at first excused themselves from taking cognizance of an Affair that past so long before their Consulate: And to give an Appearance of Justice to a Refusal, that indeed proceeded only from their Concern for the Interest of their Body, they added that that *Senatusconsultum* was become void by Inexecution; and that every body must know there was this Difference between Laws, and the mere Decrees of the Senate, that the one were perpetual and unviolable, whereas the *Senatusconsulta* were of no longer Duration, than the Magistracy of him to whom their Execution was committed.

Enterprize of Genucius. The Tribune, without giving any heed to that Distinction, wou'd gladly have attacked those Magistrates directly; but as he foresaw it wou'd be no easy Matter to ruin two Consuls, while they were actually invested with the Sovereign Power, he turned his Resentment upon *A. Manlius*, and *L. Furius*, whose Offices were but just expired. He cited them before the Assembly of the People; and accused them of having neglected to name the Commissioners, with intent to deprive their poor Citizens and brave Soldiers of the Share which they had so well deserved in the conquered Lands. That furious Tribune exhorted the People to do Justice to themselves, and added, that there was no way but the Punishment of those great Criminals, and the Terror of such an Example,

ample, to reduce their Succeſſors to execute at length the *Senatusconſultum*; and with horrible Oaths, that he wou'd proſecute this Affair to the Death, he appointed the Day when the People ſhou'd enquire into it. This Accuſation and theſe violent Menaces alarm'd the *Patricians*. They ſaw, with no leſs Indignation than Sorrow, that the Tribunes aimed equally at their Lives and their Fortunes, and that there ſeemed to be a laid Deſign of making away with all the Senators one after another. Every one blamed himſelf for his Patience and Moderation: Several private Councils were held, the Reſult of which remained buried in a profound Secrecy. In the mean while, the People, who triumphed beforehand, inſolently boaſted that in ſpite of all the Senate's Artifices, the Law for the Diviſion of the Lands ſhou'd certainly paſs; nay, that it ſhou'd be ſealed too with the Blood of thoſe that had oppoſed it, and that the Death of *Caſſius* ſhou'd not go unrevenged. The Senate equally concealed their Fear and their Reſentment. But the very Day before this great Matter was to be decided, *Genutius* was found dead in his Bed, without the leaſt Marks of Poiſon or any other Violence. His Body was laid out in the *Forum*; and the common People, whoſe Minds eaſily run into Superſtition, imagined that the Gods diſapproved his Enterprize, tho' the wiſer ſort were inclined to ſuſpect that ſome *Patricians* had been the Miniſters of the Deity. Nevertheleſs, this Religious Notion, which had got Poſſeſſion of the Spirits of the Multitude, inſpired them with a great Veneration for the Senate, in whoſe Favour Heaven ſeemed to have declared in ſo viſible a Manner. The Partition of the Lands was not ſo much as mentioned for ſome time afterwards. The Tribunes were confounded, and the Senate might have reſumed all their Authority,

Id. D. H. Ibid. l. 9.

Sudden Death of the Tribune Genutius.

Zonaras.

thority, if upon this Revolution they had not gone about to ſtrain it too high.

There was occaſion for raiſing of Troops, and liſting the Legions to march againſt the Enemy. The Conſuls, guarded by their Lictors, held their Tribunal as uſual in the *Forum*; and to make the People feel their Power, either fined or whipt thoſe Citizens that did not appear the very moment they were called to give their Names, and often without the leaſt regard to Juſtice. A Proceeding ſo ſevere already began to alienate the People's Hearts; and the unjuſt and violent manner, in which the Conſuls attempted to liſt for a common Soldier a *Plebeian* that had been a Centurion, made their Diſcontent break out into Action.

Volero's *Revolt.*

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. *Year of* Rome 280.

This *Plebeian*, named P. VOLERO, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Wars by his Valour, and was eſteemed a good Officer. Nevertheleſs, without regard to his paſt Services, or the Poſts he had born, he was ſummoned to liſt himſelf as a common Soldier. He refuſed to obey, and complain'd publicly that the Conſuls only wanted to diſgrace him becauſe he was a *Plebeian*. Thoſe Magiſtrates, upon his Refuſal, ſent a Lictor to ſeize him; and upon his making Reſiſtance, ordered that he ſhou'd be beaten with Rods, a Puniſhment which the Generals uſed to inflict upon their mutinous Soldiers. They go to take hold of his Perſon; but *Volero* full of Courage and Indignation puſhes back the Lictor, and ſtriking him a Blow on the Face implores at the ſame time the Protection of the Tribunes. As they ſeemed to give no Regard to his Cries: "I appeal to the People, ſays "he, addreſſing himſelf to the Conſuls, ſince "our Tribunes, intimidated by your Power, had "rather ſee a Citizen abuſed even in their Pre"ſence, than expoſe themſelves to be ſtrangled in "their Beds like *Genutius*." Then turning to the People, who ſeemed provoked at the Violence

Flor. l. 1. c. 22.

that

that was offered him: "Aſſiſt me, Comrades, "cried he; we have no other Remedy leſt us a-"gainſt ſo great a Tyranny but Force.

The People, animated by this Diſcourſe, take Fire, riſe up, attack the Lictors that guarded the Conſuls. They break their *Faſces*, they diſperſe them; the Majeſty of the Conſulſhip is not able to withhold the People's Fury, and the Conſuls are forced to fly and hide themſelves.

The Senate immediately meets; the Conſuls make their Report of *Volero*'s Rebellion, and conclude, that he ought to be puniſhed as a Diſturber of the public Peace, and thrown down from the *Tarpeïan* Rock. The Tribunes, on the contrary, demand Juſtice upon the Conſuls, and complain that thoſe Magiſtrates, in Contempt of the *Lex Valeria*, and of an Appeal to the Aſſembly of the *Roman* People, ſhou'd offer to ſcourge a brave Citizen in ſo ignominious a manner, as if he had been the vileſt Slave: A new Cauſe of Diſſention between thoſe two Orders of the Republic. *Volero*, who fear'd the Power of the Conſuls, demanded the Tribuneſhip, which he looked upon as an inviolable *Aſylum*, which would ſhelter him from the Fury of his Enemies. To obtain that Office, he boaſted in a public Aſſembly, that if ever he were inveſted with that Dignity, he wou'd take ſuch Methods, that the People ſhou'd never be oppreſs'd by the Senate's Power for the future.

The *Plebeians*, who were always the Majority in thoſe Aſſemblies, charmed with the Hopes which *Volero* gave them, granted him all their Voices. He was elected Tribune, in ſpite of all the Cabals and Brigues of the *Patricians*; he enter'd upon the Exerciſe of that Function in the Conſulate of *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. The People, who obſerved every Step he took, expected that to revenge himſelf of the two Conſulars,

Volero *made Tribune.*

Year of Rome 281.

ſulars, who had ill treated him, he wou'd immediately proſecute them in the way of Juſtice; but he had farther Views. He turned his Reſentment upon the whole Body of the Senate, and undertook to deprive them of the Authority they had in the Election of the Tribunes.

Volero *eſtabliſhes the Election of Tribunes, in the Aſſembly by Tribes.*

We have already ſaid, that there was then but two Ways of convening the Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People, one by *Curiæ*, and the other by *Centuries*. The Difference between them was, that in the Aſſemblies by *Curiæ* the Voices were counted by their Number, which gave the People the Superiority; whereas in the Aſſemblies by *Centuries*, as the Richer ſort compoſed alone more Centuries than all the People, the Advantage lay wholly on their ſide. In other reſpects, the way of convening both thoſe Aſſemblies was the ſame; that Prerogative belonged to the Senate: And as in thoſe Days none but *Patricians* cou'd be Augurs, they were the Men that took the Auſpices. *Volero* perceiving that the Authority of thoſe Augurs, joyned to that of the Senate, had a great Influence in both Aſſemblies, reſolved to remove the Election of the Tribunes out of the Aſſembly by *Curiæ* into an Aſſembly held another way.

D. H. l. 9. He repreſented to the People in a general Aſſembly, that the Senate and *Patricians* were abſolute Maſters of the Government; that the chief Dignities of the Republic, all Officers Civil and Military, and that of the Prieſthood itſelf, were confined to their Order. That beſides theſe particular Advantages, they had alſo the Prerogative of determining by a *Senatusconſultum* when any Aſſembly ſhould be held, of preſiding in it, of preparing the Deliberation by Auſpices, which the Miniſters of Religion, *Patricians* by Birth, always interpreted according to the Views and Intereſts of their own Order; and laſtly, that a new

Senatusconſultum muſt be obtained to confirm what was there reſolved on. That by means of theſe various Privileges which they had got into their own Hands, they had but little leſs Power in the Aſſemblies held by *Curiæ*, tho' there the Voices were gathered by Tale, than in thoſe where the Votes were reckoned only by Centuries. That it was high time to break all theſe Chains, which the Senate had formed to ſhackle the Suffrages of the *Plebeians*. He demanded that the Election of Tribunes ſhou'd be made for the future in an Aſſembly by *Tribes*, where all the *Roman* Citizens that then compoſed the thirty Tribes, as well the Inhabitants of the Country, as thoſe of the City, were equally allowed a Vote, without ſubjection to any *Senatusconſulta* or to the influence of the Augurs.

All the *Plebeians* warmly declared for a Propoſal, which by freeing them and their Magiſtrates from their Dependance upon the Conſuls, brought a new Acceſſion of Power to the People at the Expence of the Authority of the Senate. The Conſuls, on the other hand, the Senate and the whole Order of *Patricians* oppoſed it with all their Might. They repreſented in divers Aſſemblies held upon this Affair, that ſo dangerous a Law cou'd not be received without a daring Contempt of the Gods, and of all that was moſt holy in Religion, and that it muſt break thoſe Bonds which tied the Citizens one to another, and ruin that Subordination which was ſo neceſſary for the maintaining of Peace and Union among the ſeveral Orders of the State. Each Party ſtood up for their Pretenſions with equal Animoſity. It was the common Subject of all Diſputes between thoſe two Orders of the Commonwealth. The Conteſt about the Partition of the Lands was dropt; all the Endeavours of the Great and of the People ſeemed to be fixed upon the Deciſion

of this Affair, nor cou'd any Man foresee which way it wou'd end.

A dreadful Pestilence, which infected both the City and Country, interrupted the Course of these Dissentions. Each being taken up with his particular Losses and his own Preservation, less Attention was given to the Business of the Public. But this Calamity proving as short as it was violent, the Tribunes immediately resumed their Prosecution of the Law proposed by *Volero*. That popular Magistrate being just out of his Office, the People, who thought they cou'd not succeed without his Assistance, continued him in the Tribuneship for the following Year, notwithstanding all the Caballing and Opposition made by the *Patricians*.

Volero *continued.*

The Senate sets Appius *against* Volero. *Year of* Rome 282. D. H. l. 9.

The Senate thought it necessary to set up against him a Man of a resolute Character, and one not to be shaken by the Clamours and Menaces of the People. They pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raised him to the Consulship without his Participation. It was observed that he was so far from making Interest for that high Post, that he did not so much as appear in the Assembly on the Day of Election. He had inherited his Father's inviolable Adherence to the Senate's Interests; but the heroical Constancy of the former was degenerated into Severity in the Son. He was a Man naturally proud, tho' without Ambition, was always for carrying things with a high Hand, and for owing nothing to Persuasion, or to that artful Management which is so necessary in the Government of a free People. They gave him for his Colleague *T. Quintius*, who was of a Character directly opposite, naturally mild and insinuating, and one that had found ways to get the Love of the People, tho' he was looked upon to be one of the principal Leaders of the Party of

of the Nobility. The Senate choſe him on purpoſe, hoping that his Counſels and Example wou'd ſoften what was too harſh and haughty in the Manners of *Appius*.

Theſe two Conſuls being entered upon the Execution of their Office, immediately convened the Senate. The Buſineſs was to think of the moſt proper Methods for hindring the Publication of *Volero*'s Law.

Appius adviſed, that upon ſome Pretence, which is never wanting between Neighbours, a new War ſhou'd be immediately undertaken. He repreſented, that the Senate being to govern a People of an unquiet Genius, greedy of Novelties, and incited by ſeditious Tribunes, Experience had ſhewn that they cou'd never have Peace within the State, but when they carried the War abroad, and led the People out of a City where Idleneſs nouriſhed a Spirit of Murmuring and Rebellion.

Quintius was of a contrary Opinion; he ſaid, he thought it unjuſt to make War upon Nations againſt whom the Republic had not then any Cauſe of Complaint; that the People themſelves wou'd quickly perceive the Senate's Intent in ſo doing, and if they refuſed to take Arms, they muſt uſe Force to compel them; which cou'd not fail of raiſing a Sedition, wherein it was to be fear'd the Majeſty of the Senate might be expoſed to Inſults. As *Quintius* was this Month in Poſſeſſion of the Lictors, and of the chief Authority, his Colleague was obliged to yield to his Sentiments, which were followed by the Majority of the Senate.

In the mean time *Volero*, being fully reſolved to effect his Deſigns, was no ſooner entered upon his ſecond Tribunate, but he propoſed a-new the Law for Aſſemblies of the People by Tribes. He added, in Conjunction with his Colleagues, *Volero enlarges the Law.*

that he demanded in favour of the People, that the *Ædiles* shou'd be chose in them as well as the Tribunes, and that they shou'd have Cognizance of all Affairs which the People had a Right to determine: Which indeed was neither more nor less than conveying the whole Authority of the Government out of the Hands of the Senate, into those of the People. The Senate was convened again upon these extraordinary Proposals. *Quintius*, naturally good-natur'd, and a thorough Republican, tho' without being popular, was for conceding somewhat in favour of a brave People, from whom, he said, the Republic daily received important Services. But *Appius*, haughty and severe, averred, that they shou'd betray the Senate's Interest by an Indulgence which would show not so much the Mercy as the Weakness of the Government. That the Tribunes, when they had thus stripp'd them of their Power, wou'd think they did them great Favour if they left them so much as the Ensigns of their Dignity. He concluded, that after so many vain Speeches, which had been made upon this same Subject, nothing but a bold stroke of Authority was capable of putting a stop to the seditious Enterprizes of the Tribunes. That the *Patricians*, with their Clients, ought to take Arms, drive the People out of the *Forum*, and fall upon all without distinction that dared to be the Protectors of so pernicious a Law. This Advice was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous. The Senate came to a Temperament; They desired of the Tribunes that they wou'd banish out of the public Assemblies those tumultuous Contests and Disputes, in the Confusion of which it was difficult to distinguish what was Justice and Reason; that the Consuls too might peaceably, and without interruption, represent to the People the true Interests of the Commonwealth; and that then they might in concert agree upon such measures as

The Senate's Opposition to it.

as shou'd be most conformable to the common Good of the People and of the Senate.

The Tribunes durst not refuse to come into so equitable a Proposal. *Quintius* mounted the *Rostrum*; he spoke in so lively and so affectionate a manner of the Advantages of Peace, and the Calamities that attended Divisions and Innovations in the Laws, that if *Appius* had not spoken immediately after him, the People seemed inclined to have rejected *Volero*'s Proposal.

But that Consul, who understood no way of dealing with Men, but with a high Hand, instead of making the true Use of the Impression which his Colleague's Discourse had made in the Minds of his Audience, fell into Invectives, which had the very same Effect as the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes, and only irritated the *Plebeians* afresh, and gave them a new Aversion to the Senate. He upbraided them in Expressions disagreeable to the Senate itself, and odious to the People, with their first Desertion upon the *Mons Sacer*, and the Erection of the Tribuneship, which he said was extorted from the Senate, only by an open Revolt, and the Danger of a Civil War: That it was no wonder a Tribunal set up by Rebels shou'd produce nothing but Tumults and Discords, which wou'd never end but with the entire Subversion of the Republic; that even already few or no Footsteps were left of the ancient Form of Government: That the most sacred Laws were abolished; the Consular Power despised, and the Dignity of the Senate debased: That their Impudence was now grown to such a heighth, that they were for excluding from the Election of Tribunes the *Senatusconsulta* and the *Auspices*, that is to say, all that was most Sacred and most Venerable in Religion and the State; that e'er long they wou'd quite abolish the Senate, whose Power they were actually diminishing every Day,

Appius's hateful Speech.

in order to raiſe upon its Ruins a Supreme Council of the Tribunes of the People. He prayed the Gods to deprive him of Life, rather than ſuffer him to be Spectator of ſo ſtrange a Revolution. 'And to give you at once, adds he, turning to 'the People, a full Knowledge of my Sentiments, 'I declare that I will for ever reſolutely oppoſe 'the Promulgation of ſo unjuſt a Law; and I 'hope, before your Tribunes have brought it to 'bear, I ſhall make you know the Extent of the 'Power of a Conſul.

Great Ferments between the Conſuls and Tribunes. D.H. ibid. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

It was not without the hotteſt Rage and Indignation that the People heard ſo injurious a Diſcourſe. The oldeſt of the Tribunes, named *Lectorius*, who was accounted one of the braveſt Soldiers in the Republic, anſwered him, that no Body was then to learn that he came of a Family wherein Inſolence and Inhumanity were Hereditary; that his Father was the moſt bitter Enemy the People ever had, and that he himſelf was leſs their Conſul than their Tyrant. But that he declared to him in his turn, that ſpite of his Dignity, and his Power of a Conſul, the Elections of the Tribunes and that of the *Ædiles* ſhou'd for the future he made in the *Comitia* of Tribes. He ſwore by all that was moſt Sacred, that he wou'd loſe his Life, or get the Law paſs'd that very Day. At the ſame time he commanded the Conſul to depart the Aſſembly, that he might make no Diſturbance in the Collection of the Suffrages.

Appius deſpiſed his Order, and cried out to him that he wou'd have him to know that tho' a Tribune, he was no more than a private Man, without any real Magiſtracy, and whoſe whole Power conſiſted in forming an Oppoſition to ſuch Decrees of the Senate as might be prejudicial to the *Plebeians*. Thereupon calling about him his Relations, his Friends and his Clients, who were very numerous,

D.H. ibid. l. 9.

numerous, he prepared to oppoſe Force to Force. *Lectorius* having conferr'd tumultuouſly with his Colleagues cauſed Proclamation to be made by a Herald, that the College of Tribunes decreed that the Conſul ſhou'd be led to Priſon: And immediately an Officer belonging to that Tribune had the Preſumption to offer to ſeize upon the chief Magiſtrate of the Republic. But the Senators, the *Patricians*, and that Multitude of Clients which attended *Appius*, placed him in the middle of 'em, and repulſed the Officer. *Lectorius*, tranſported with Anger, advanced himſelf to aſſiſt him, and called upon the People for their Aid. The Multitude riſes; the moſt mutinous joyn the Tribune; nothing is heard but confuſed Cries proceeding from mutual Animoſity. From Reproaches they quickly come to Blows; and as in thoſe Days it was unlawful to wear Swords in the City, each Party makes Arms of Benches, or Stones, or any thing they can lay Hands on. It is very likely this Commotion had not ended without the ſpilling of much Blood, had not *Quintius* got ſome Conſulars and ancient Senators to convey *Appius* from this Tumult, while he laboured to appeaſe the Tribunes. But Night coming on, more than any thing elſe, obliged the two Parties, equally irritated againſt each other, to ſeparate.

The Tumult began again next Morning. The People ſpirited up by their Tribunes, and eſpecially by *Lectorius* who had been wounded the Night before, get poſſeſſion of the Capitol, fortify themſelves there, and ſeem reſolved to begin an open War. The Senate on their part aſſembles, as well to deliberate upon Ways to quiet the Sedition, as to reconcile the two Conſuls; the firſt of which being the more moderate, was for conceding ſomething in Favour of the People, whereas *Appius* proteſted, that he wou'd ſooner die than conſent

ſent to give up the leaſt Point to a ſeditious Rabble. This Diſorder laſted ſeveral Days. *Quintius*, who was not diſagreeable to the Multitude, accoſts the Tribunes, ſooths them, and intreats them to ſacrifice their private Reſentments to the Public Good, and to reſtore the City to Peace and Concord. The Tribunes anſwer, that his Colleague was the Man he ſhou'd apply to, and that he alone was the Cauſe of the Diviſion that raged in the Republic. That they thought it was no unjuſt thing they propoſed, in demanding that the Election of Tribunes ſhou'd be made only in an Aſſembly by Tribes. That this excluded neither the Senators, nor the *Patricians*, nor the Knights, who all were inſcribed in ſome of the Thirty Tribes, and conſequently wou'd always have their weight in the Aſſemblies by Tribes as private Citizens. That the People deſired only that they might not preſide in them, but that this Honour might be allowed their particular Magiſtrates. That whenever this unexceptionable Law was admitted, the City wou'd quickly be reſtor'd to Peace; tho' they wou'd not however ſay, that they wou'd deſiſt from proſecuting *Appius* afterwards, for having wounded *Lectorius*, whoſe Perſon was Sacred.

Quintius replied with much Gentleneſs, that in ſo great a Diſorder as had then happened, it was impoſſible to charge *Appius* with the Tribune's Wound more than any Body elſe; that he wou'd have them forget this particular Injury for the ſake of the Public Peace, and make a Compliment of it to the Senate. From thence he took occaſion to inſinuate to them, that it was not unlikely the Senate, with their uſual Goodneſs, might comply with the Law in favour of the People, if they referred it abſolutely to their Deciſion; that this was perhaps the ſureſt way to ſucceed: Whereas if the People pretended to carry it by Force,

there

there would always be found a great number of young Senators and *Patricians* that would make it a point of Honour to reſiſt them.

The Tribunes, who knew *Quintius*'s Prudence, were well ſatisfied he wou'd never have made them ſuch Advances without being beforehand aſſured of the Senate's Diſpoſition: And as all that was now to be done was by a ſeeming Deference to ſave the Honour of that Body, the Tribunes, contented with having the eſſential part granted them, did not quarrel about the Form: They aſſured *Quintius* that the People wou'd ſtand to whatever he ſhou'd tranſact with the Senate on their part. The Tribunes took this Courſe the more readily, becauſe it did not at all bind their Succeſſors, who might reſume the Proſecution of the Law the next Year, if the Senate's Reſolutions were not ſuch as the People expected.

Quintius having left the Tribunes, convened the Senate, to whom he gave an Account of their preſent Inclination. He then asked the Opinion of the Conſulars, beginning with *P. Valerius Publicola*. That Senator ſaid, that the Tribune's Wound not being the Effect of any perſonal Quarrel between *Appius* and *Lectorius*, he thought the Reſentment of it ſhou'd be buried in an Oblivion of the Tumult it ſelf that had occaſion'd it. But that as to the Main of the Queſtion, which was, Whether the Senate had a right to debate the Law before it was propoſed to the People, and whether they ſhou'd allow Aſſemblies to be held for chuſing Tribunes, without a *Senatusconſultum*, and without Auſpices, he ſhou'd guide himſelf for his particular by what ſhou'd be determined by Plurality of Voices.

Quintius *prevails on the Senate to yield to the People.*

This Conſular did not think fit to explain himſelf firſt upon ſo delicate a Point, probably out of conſideration for the People, whom the *Patricians* and Senators of the *Valerian* Family, ſince the time

time of *Valerius Publicola*, and from his Example, took great care to please. The Affair however was disputed with much Heat: But *Quintius*, who was naturally persuasive, managed the several Spirits he had to deal with so artfully, that he at length brought the Senate to yield to the People this other part also of their Authority. *Appius* opposed it with all his might; he called both Gods and Men to witness, that the Republic was betrayed, and that they were submitting to a Law more detrimental to the lawful Authority of the Senate, than those which had been promulgated upon the *Mons Sacer*. But he cou'd not shake the Resolution of the ancient Senators: They very well knew, that, tho' the Consul depended only upon the Senate, each particular Senator on the contrary, was, in a manner, in the Power of the People, who, since the business of *Coriolanus*, had created themselves a right of trying the *Patricians*. Thus either the Love of Peace, or Fear of the Tribunes Resentment, united insensibly most of the Voices in *Quintius*'s Opinion. The Law was published with the Consent of both Orders, and they now for the first time elected Tribunes in an Assembly convened by Tribes. *Piso* the Historian, as *Livy* informs us, says that five Tribunes were elected; that no more than two had been created upon the *Mons Sacer*, to whom three more were added upon this occasion. However this be, *Appius*, who was yet more provoked with the Senate than with the People themselves, said it was scandalous in them to abandon him in an Enterprize which they themselves had engaged him in, by raising him to a Dignity which he never courted. He employed it afterwards only to make the *Plebeians* feel that the Victory which their Tribunes had gained over the Senate, had not in the least quelled his Courage.

Year of Rome 282. D. H. l. 9. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2.

Appius *abandon'd by his Army.*

The *Æqui* and the *Volsci* during these Divisions, according to their old Custom, had made Inroads upon

upon the Territories of the Republic. The *Roman* Legions were compoſed wholly of *Plebeians*, who were Citizens in the Winter, and Soldiers in the Summer when abroad. The two Conſuls divided them between them; *Quintius* marched againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius* commanded the Army appointed againſt the *Volſci*. That General ſeeing himſelf now out of *Rome*, and poſſeſſed of the abſolute Authority of a military Command, cauſed Diſcipline to be obſerved with a Severity, which the Soldiers looked upon not ſo much as a neceſſary Regularity, as a Revenge for Things paſt. The Rigorouſneſs with which he uſed his Power irritated the whole Army. Centurions and Soldiers, all murmured at the General's Orders. A ſort of Conſpiracy was formed, rather againſt his Glory than againſt his Life: The Soldiers, to hinder him from conquering and ſo receiving the Honours of the Triumph, reſolved by Agreement not to oppoſe the Enemies Enterprizes. The *Volſci* having offered Battel, and *Appius* having drawn his Army out of their Camp to fight them, the *Romans* at the Approach of the Enemy threw away their Arms, and fled ſhamefully, thinking they did not pay too dear for the Affront they put upon their General, if it coſt them only the loſs of their own Honour.

D. H. l. 9. Liv. Dec. l. 2. Zonaras. Flor. l. 1. 2. 22. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 3.

Appius in Deſpair runs every way to rally and bring them on again to the Fight. He intreats and threatens in vain; ſome get out of the way to avoid receiving his Commands; others without being in the leaſt wounded, ſhew him Bandages, which they had put on purpoſe about the ſound Parts of their Body, and call out that they muſt be led back to the Camp to be dreſt: All ruſh into it without waiting for Orders ſo to do. The *Volſci* take Advantage of this Confuſion, and after having cut to Pieces thoſe that fled in the Rear, they attack the Intrenchments. But then the Soldiers,

diers, fearing the Enemy might break into their Camp, face about in the Intrenchments, make a brave Resistance, and drive back the *Volsci*, tho' without pursuing them, being satisfied with having shewn their General that they cou'd have conquered had they pleased.

Appius, yet more enraged at this fresh Insult, than at their Flight, was resolved next Day to assemble his Army, and place himself in his Tribunal, to make an Example of the Mutinous. But the Soldiers gave no heed to the Signal that called them to the Assembly. They loudly demanded of their Officers to be led out of the Enemy's Territories, where they must inevitably be defeated. Those Officers, finding there was neither Discipline nor Obedience left in the Army, advised the General not to hazard his Authority in a Contest with such mutinous Spirits. *Appius*, incensed beyond all Patience at this Revolt, broke up his Camp: But as he was in March, the *Volsci*, having received Intelligence of his Motions by some Deserter, with dreadful Cries fall upon his Rear. Terror flies thro' the whole Army, and reaches the most advanced Bodies; every one flings away his Arms; those that bore the Ensigns abandon them: It is not now, as before, a pretended Rout. All disband, and make several Ways; and they do not rally again till they are arrived upon the Lands of the Republic.

Appius *decimates his Army.*

Appius having pitched his Camp in a place that covered the Country, and where he cou'd not be constrained to fight against his Will, convenes the Assembly a second time. Being seated in his Tribunal, he upbraided the Soldiers, that stood round him, with their Cowardice, and their Treachery yet more criminal than their want of Courage. He asks one what he has done with his Arms; and those that bore the Ensigns, whether they had delivered them up to the Enemy. Giving full

Scope

Scope to his natural Severity, which was augmented by a juſt Reſentment of their Deſertion, he decimated, that is, put every *Tenth* Man to death among the Soldiers, and cut off the Heads of Centurions and other Officers that had left their Poſts. As the time of the *Comitia* for the Election of Conſuls for the next Year drew near, he led back to *Rome* the Wreck of his Army, which entered it with the ſhame of Puniſhment in their Face, and a violent Thirſt of Vengeance in their Hearts.

Appius gave a further Provocation to the Multitude, and incurred their Hatred anew, by the Oppoſition he made to the Endeavours uſed by the Tribunes of that Year for the *Agrarian Law*. Thoſe Magiſtrates of the People had no ſooner attained the Tribuneſhip, but they ſtudied to diſtinguiſh themſelves by Propoſals pleaſing to the Multitude. Some invented new Laws; others reſumed the Proſecution of ſuch as had not yet been paſſed; and the Aim of all was only to ſhare with the Senate and *Patricians* the Wealth, the Dignities, and the Magiſtracies of the Republic.

The Conſuls favour the Agrarian *Law. Year of* Rome 283.

It was in the Conſulate of *L. Valerius* and *T. Æmilius*, who ſucceeded in that Dignity to *Quintius* and *Appius*, that *C. Sicinius*, Tribune of the People, and Grandſon of the ſame *Sicinius Bellutus* that was the chief Leader of the Sedition upon the *Mons Sacer*, revived, in conjunction with his Colleagues, the old Diſpute concerning the Partition of thoſe Public Lands of which the *Patricians* and richeſt Inhabitants of *Rome* had got Poſſeſſion.

D. H. l. 9.

The buſineſs in a manner depended upon the Conſuls, who by the *Senatusconſultum* made in the Conſulate of *Caſſius* and *Virginius* were empowered to nominate Commiſſioners to proceed to the Enquiry and Diviſion of thoſe Lands. The Tribunes had the Addreſs to gain thoſe two principal Magiſtrates of the Republic over to their Intereſts.

Æmilius

Æmilius promised to back their Pretensions: This Consul took so extraordinary a step out of Revenge against the Senate, for having refused his Father the Honours of Triumph when he returned victorious from a War against the *Æqui*. *Valerius*, on his part, was not displeased at having found an occasion of making his Peace with the People, who cou'd not forgive him the Death of *Cassius*, whose Accuser he had made himself during his Quæstorship.

The Tribunes having made sure of the two Consuls, brought the Affair next before the Senate. They spoke with great Moderation, and besought that Body in the most submissive Terms, to condescend at length to do the People Justice, and that the Consuls would no longer delay naming the Decemvirs that were to regulate the Partition of the Lands. The two Consuls gave to understand by their Silence that they did not oppose it. *Valerius*, as first Consul, then asked the Opinion of the rest of the Senate, beginning with *Æmilius* the Father of his Colleague. That ancient Senator declared in favour of the People: He said he thought nothing cou'd be more unjust than to see private Persons the only Gainers by the Spoils of the Enemy, while the rest of the Citizens laboured under Indigence and Misery. That the poor *Plebeians* dreaded the Thoughts of having Children, to whom they cou'd leave nothing but their own Wretchedness for an Inheritance; that instead of cultivating each the Portion of Land that belong'd to him, they were obliged to work for Subsistence like Slaves in the Estates of the *Patricians*; and that this servile way of Life was not very proper to form the Courage of a *Roman*. 'Thus, says 'that old Man, I vote that our Consuls name the 'Decemvirs, to proceed to the Division of these 'Lands, which being public and common, ought 'to be for the equal Benefit of All.

D.H.Ibid.

Appius

Appius oppoſed this Advice with as much Haughtineſs as if he had been a third Conſul, or indeed as if he had been inveſted with a perpetual Dictatorſhip. He anſwered *Æmilius*, that the People cou'd lay the Blame of their Miſery upon nothing but their own Intemperance; that they had received their Portions of Land at the very Foundation of *Rome*; that oftner than once the Conſuls had generouſly given among them the Booty won upon the Dominions of the Enemies, and that upon a thorough Enquiry it wou'd appear, that thoſe who had received the greateſt Share of thoſe foreign Spoils were the pooreſt. That ſo long as thoſe *Plebeians* wallowed as they did in Debauchery and Lazineſs, it was not in the Power of the Republic to enrich them; that above fifteen Conſulates were now paſt ſince the *Senatusconſultum* had been granted for the Partition of the Lands, and in all that time not one of the preceeding Magiſtrates had ever had a thought of putting it in Execution, well knowing that the Senate's only Deſign in ſuch a Decree was to appeaſe the Sedition, in order to give the People more time to conſider the Injuſtice and indeed Impoſſibility of their Demands; and that over and above all this, thoſe former Conſuls were not to learn, that the *Senatusconſultum* was aboliſhed by Preſcription; and that they had more Prudence than to charge themſelves with ſo important a Commiſſion, in virtue of an Authority that was expired. That neither cou'd he believe there was the leaſt Occaſion to apprehend ſuch an Enterprize from the Conſuls then in Poſt, who had more Wiſdom and Caution than to undertake ſuch an Affair without the Concurrence and Authority of the Senate; 'But to let you ſee, added *Appius*, 'that in rejecting an obſolete Act, I do not mean 'to defend Uſurpers, I declare it as my Advice, 'that without making any farther mention of the 'Diviſion

Appius *oppoſes the* Agrarian *Law.*

D. H. ibid. l. 9.

'Diviſion of the Lands, we re-unite to the pub-
'lic Domain the Lands of all ſuch as cannot juſti-
'fy their Acquiſition and Boundaries by legal Ti-
'tles.

Notwithſtanding the Equitableneſs of this Propoſal, neither the Grandees nor the People cou'd reliſh an Expedient that wou'd impoveriſh the Rich, without any Benefit to the Poor. But however, as it utterly rejected the Partition of the Lands, and that the Enquiry propoſed againſt the unjuſt Poſſeſſors ſeemed a long work, moſt of the Senators beſtowed great Praiſes on *Appius*. The Tribunes, on the contrary, enraged at finding in the ſingle Perſon of this Conſular the Hatred and Oppoſition of all the *Patricians*, reſolved to deſtroy him, and for that purpoſe cited him before the People, as a declared Enemy of the public Liberty.

Appius *accuſed by the* Tribunes.

This was the ordinary Crime alledged againſt thoſe that were indeed guilty of none, and were nevertheleſs to be deſtroyed. The Senate intereſted themſelves in this Affair as if it had been their own, looking upon *Appius* as the intrepid Defender of their Prerogative. Moſt of them were for ſoliciting the Multitude in his Behalf, but he oppoſed it with his uſual Firmneſs and Courage. He changed neither his Habit nor his Style: and on the Day of the Aſſembly he appeared in the midſt of his Accuſers with the ſame Dignity as if he had been their Judge. The Tribunes reproached him with the Severity of his Conſulate, the Inhumanity with which he had put to Death a greater number of Soldiers by the hand of the Executioner, than the very Enemies had ſlain in the Heat of the Battel. To make that Conſular ſtill more odious, the rigorous Conduct of his Father was called to mind, as a Crime in the Son: But he anſwered theſe ſeveral Articles with ſo much Strength, that the People aſtoniſhed and confounded durſt not con-

demn him. The Tribunes, fearing he wou'd be acquitted, adjourned the Sentence to another Aſſembly, pretending the Day was ſo far ſpent that they ſhou'd not have time to collect the Suffrages. During theſe Delays, *Appius*, plainly foreſeeing he ſhou'd at length be ſacrificed to the implacable Hatred of thoſe Magiſtrates, voluntarily put an end to his own Life. His Son cauſed his Body to be brought into the *Forum*, and according to Cuſtom preſented himſelf to make his Funeral Oration; but the Tribunes, who were reſolved to perſecute his very Memory, offered to oppoſe it, alledging that his Father was to be reckoned among Criminals, not having been acquitted of his Accuſation before his Death. But the People, more generous, removed their Oppoſition, and heard with pleaſure the Praiſes of an Enemy whom they cou'd never help eſteeming, and hated no longer. D. H. l. 9.

Appius *puts an end to his own Life.*

The Tribunes afterwards reſumed the Buſineſs of the *Agrarian* Law, which *Appius*'s Proſecution had only ſuſpended. The Death of that great Man, one wou'd think, ſhou'd have deterred all others from oppoſing the Publication of the Law; but as the Fortune of moſt of the Senators depended upon it, and ſeveral rich *Plebeians* had alſo acquired different Parcels of thoſe public Lands, the Party of the *Patricians* gathered Strength; that of the People grew weaker and weaker; this cooled the Zeal of the Tribunes; and the Proprietors ſtill continued in Poſſeſſion of theſe Lands, notwithſtanding the Pretenſions and Complaints of the common People. The *Romans*, the following Year, under the Conſulate of *Aulus Virginius* and *T. Numicius*, were employed in Wars, or rather Inroads and Incurſions upon the *Æqui*, the *Volſci* and the *Sabines*; but at the Concluſion of the Campaign the old Diviſions were renewed.

The Agrarian *Law dropt.*

Year of Rome 284.

The Multitude, who looked upon themſelves to be over-power'd by the Credit of the Great, to ſhew their Reſentment, abſented themſelves from all the Aſſemblies that were held by Centuries, and where the Conſuls and Senate preſided. It ſeemed as if the *Plebeians* intended to ſeparate themſelves once more from the Body of the Republic: None of them appeared at the Election of Conſuls for the next Year; and, which was never known before, *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius* were raiſed to that Dignity by the ſole Voices of the Senate, the *Patricians* and their Clients, who notwithſtanding all theſe Diviſions conſtantly adhered to the Party of their Patrons.

Year of Rome 285.

Theſe two Conſuls, to prevent the Breach from growing wider, buſied the People all that Year in various Wars againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. *T. Quintius* took from theſe latter the City of *Antium* and its whole Territory. The Plunder and Booty ſomewhat appeaſed the Minds of the Multitude, and the Soldier at his Return to *Rome* knew not how to complain of Generals under whom he had acquired both Wealth and Glory.

But their Complaints and Diſſentions began afreſh in the Conſulate of *Tib. Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius*. We have already heard that *Æmilius* in his firſt Conſulate had declared for the Partition of the Lands; the Tribunes and Promoters of the *Agrarian* Law aſſumed new Hopes under his ſecond Conſulate: The Affair was debated in the Senate: *Æmilius* had not changed his Mind. That Conſul, ever favourable to the People, averred, that it was impoſſible to maintain Peace and Union among the Citizens of a free State, unleſs the Laws kept ſome Proportion between the Condition of the Poor and that of the Rich, and made an equal Diviſion among them of the Lands conquered from the Enemy. But this Partition, ſo advantageous to the *Plebeians*, laboured under great Diffi-

Difficulty in executing the Agrarian *Law.*

Difficulties. It was neceſſary, in order to it, to diſtinguiſh between the original Patrimony of every private Man, and what he had added to it from the public Lands. This Diſtinction muſt even extend between ſuch Parcels as the *Patricians* had really purchaſed of the public Domain, and ſuch as they had at firſt only taken as Farms in their own or borrowed Names, and afterwards mingled and confounded together with part of the Commons, in their rightful Patrimony. A long Preſcription concealed from the moſt ſtrict Enquiry the Knowledge of theſe ſeveral Uſurpations. The *Patricians* had afterwards ſhared out theſe Lands among their Children for their Patrimony, and thoſe Patrimonies now grown hereditary, were paſſed thro' various Families by Succeſſion or Purchaſe. Nay, ſome rich *Plebeians* poſſeſſed Part of them, which they had honeſtly bought; ſo that there ſeemed to be no way to touch upon this Affair, without occaſioning a general Confuſion in the Republic.

Æmilius, without any regard to Inconveniences ſo well worth Conſideration, ſtill obſtinately inſiſted upon the Publication of the Law. He was very deſirous of making it his Merit with the People, that it was paſs'd during his Conſulate; and he was ſeconded by ſome ancient Senators, who looked upon the Mediocrity of the Fortune of private Perſons and Equality of Wealth to be the ſtrongeſt Supports of the public Liberty. But the Majority, and eſpecially thoſe that were in Poſſeſſion of thoſe public Lands, complained that *Æmilius*, in order to make his court to the People, was for being liberal to them with the Wealth of the Nobility. The Diſpute ran even into Invectives and Abuſes; many reproached him that he acted not ſo much like a Conſul as a ſeditious Tribune: And, which is moſt wonderful, even Senators were ſeen to be wanting of Reſpect to the Head of the Se- Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

nate, and the Sovereign Magistrate of the Republic. *Fabius*, his Colleague, to prevent the Consequences of these Divisions, thought of an Expedient which displeased neither Party.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 8.

Colonies of Antium.

Most of the Inhabitants of the City of *Antium* were perished in the last War. *Fabius*, to mollify the *Roman* People, whose Misery and the seditious Speeches of their Tribunes had now made them furious, proposed to send Part of the poorest Citizens of *Rome* by way of Colony to *Antium*, and to divide among them some adjoining Lands which had been taken from the *Volsci*. This Advice was at first received with great Applause by the meaner sort of People, who are always greedy of Novelties. *T. Quintius*, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Furius* were immediately named, to make the Establishment of this Colony. But when the *Plebeians* were to give their Names to those Triumvirs, few of them appeared: *Rome* had too many Charms to detain its Inhabitants; no Body cared for leaving it. The Games, the Spectacles, the public Assemblies, the Hurry of Business, the Share the People had in the Government, every thing contributed to tie the Citizens to their old Abode, let their Poverty be ever so great. A Colony was looked upon to be no better than an honourable kind of Banishment; and the most wretched *Plebeians* rather chose to live in *Rome* in Indigence, and in Expectation of the uncertain Division of the public Lands, which they had been so long flattered with hopes of, than to be actually in Possession of good Land in a rich Colony; so that the Triumvirs, to make up the Number appointed for the Colony, were forced to admit of Strangers and Straglers that offered themselves to gain a Habitation in it. The only Advantage they drew from this Settlement, was, that those among the People who had refused to go, cou'd

D. H. l. 9.

cou'd not for ſhame meddle any more in the Affair of the Partition of the Lands.

A dreadful Peſtilence laid both the City and Country deſolate about this time. An infinite Number of People, ſeveral Senators, and the two Conſuls themſelves, *P. Servilius* and *L. Æbutius*, died of it. The *Volſci* and *Æqui*, imagining they might get great Advantages over the *Romans*, if they attacked them in this weak Condition, renewed the War under the Conſulate of *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus*. Theſe two Magiſtrates were no ſooner raiſed to that Dignity, but they prepared to repel the Incurſions of the Enemies. But as they cou'd not raiſe any great Forces in a City where the Plague had juſt made ſuch terrible Devaſtation, they called to their Aid the *Latins* and *Hernici*, Allies of the *Roman* Nation. They put themſelves at their Head, and fought ſo bravely, that the Enemy was defeated in three ſeveral Battels.

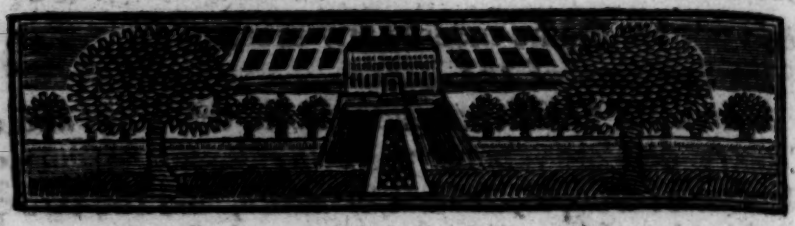
Oroſ. l. 11. c. 12.

Year of Rome 290.

Year of Rome 291.

Liv. l. 3.

End of the Third Book.



THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK IV.

The Tribune C. TERENTILLUS ARSA *makes a Propoſal for drawing up and ſettling, with the People's Conſent, a Body of Laws to ſerve as a Rule in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.* Ceſo, *for oppoſing it, is forc'd to fly into* Tuſcany *to avoid the Judgment of the People. The Tribunes form a Deſign to ruin ſuch of the Senators and* Patricians *as were obnoxious to them. The Conſul* Claudius *diſappoints them.* Appius Herdonius *ſeizes the Capitol. He is attack'd by the* Romans, *and oblig'd*

to kill himself. Q. Cincinnatus *is fetch'd from the Plough to command the Armies in Quality of Conſul. He refuſes to be Conſul a ſecond time, and returns to his Plough. He is recall'd, to go in Quality of Dictator, and deliver one of the Conſuls who was ſhut up by the Enemy, with his whole Army. He delivers the Conſul and his Soldiers, beats the Enemy, and returns Triumphant into* Rome. Q. Ceſo *his Son is recalled from Baniſhment. The Senate grants the People a Power to chuſe ten Tribunes inſtead of five, provided they drop the Project of the* Terentillian *Law. Mount* Aventine *yielded up to the People by a* Senatusconſultum. *The Conſuls,* T. Romilius *and* C. Veturius, *obtain a compleat Victory over the Enemy. The People, by the Perſuaſion of* Siccius, *refuſe them the Honour of a Triumph, and even condemn them in a Fine, becauſe they oppoſed the Publication of the* Agrarian *Law.*

WHILE the two Conſuls were in the Field, a certain Tribune of the People nam'd *C. Terentillus Arſa*, undertook to ſignalize his Acceſſion to the Tribunate by advancing new Propoſals. This Man having obſerv'd that the Senate and Conſuls obſtructed from time to time, by their Authority, the Publication of moſt of the Laws propos'd by his Colleagues, buſy'd his Thoughts how to weaken and reduce a Power that was a perpetual Object of Envy and Emulation to the Tribunes. He therefore demanded in full Aſſembly, that Bounds ſhou'd be ſet to the abſolute Authority of the Conſuls; and that at the ſame time, with the People's Conſent, there ſhou'd be an Eſtabliſhment of Laws fix'd and determin'd for the Senate to be govern'd by in the Judgments they ſhou'd paſs between Man and Man.

Ter. Arſa *propoſes an Eſtabliſhment of fix'd Laws.* D.H. l. 10.

In order to judge of the Importance of this second Proposal, it may not be amiss to observe here that *Rome* as yet had no Laws, nor any constant Form of administring Justice. The sole Will of her late Kings was instead of a Law all the Time they reigned. As the Consuls and Senate succeeded to the Regal Power, they likewise succeeded to the same supreme Right of distributing Justice, and regulated their Sentences either by the Principles of natural Equity, or ancient Usages; or else by the first Laws of *Romulus* and his Successors, some slight Footsteps whereof were still to be found in the sacred Books which were lodg'd with the *Patricians* alone. The People knew but little of the matter: most of them being employ'd abroad in the Wars, or else settled in the Country, rarely came to Town but on Market Days about their domestic Concerns, or to be present at the *Comitia* and other public Assemblies, which were holden only on those Days. They referr'd all their Differences to the Judgment of the Consuls, who always made a Mystery to the People of those first Elements of their Juris-Prudence.

How Justice was anciently dispensed among the Romans.

The Death of a great Number of *Patricians*, who had been swept away by the Plague, and the Absence of the two Consuls who were actually at the Head of the Armies, seem'd to be a favourable Conjuncture for TERENTILLUS to make an Innovation in the Government. He represented to the People, that *Patrician* Magistrates were absolute Masters of each Man's Fortune; that whenever any Contest arose between a *Patrician* and a *Plebeian*, the latter was sure to come by the worst; that besides losing his Cause, he had not so much as the Consolation of knowing whether he had Right or Wrong done him; and he concluded with moving for an immediate Establishment of Laws, known by every Body, to serve for a Rule

Terentillus *harangues against the Great.*

to

to the Magiſtrates in their Sentences, and to the Litigants for Proofs of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of their Cauſe.

He afterwards fell to railing againſt the Conſuls: That their Authority was inſupportable in a free City; that the ancient Kings of *Rome* enjoy'd not a greater ſhare of Power; that, like thoſe Princes, the Conſuls had their Robes border'd with Purple, their Curule or Ivory Chair; as alſo Guards and Lictors to attend them. That at home they were the Diſpenſers of Juſtice, and that thoſe Magiſtrates, at the ſame time that they thought themſelves above the Laws, avenged the Infringement of them in their Inferiors and the common People with the moſt cruel Puniſhments. That abroad and at the head of the Armies they always made War with an abſolute Authority, and even Peace, not ſeldom, without ſo much as conſulting the Senate, to whom indeed for form ſake they wou'd afterwards give an account of their Adminiſtration. That thus they had the whole Authority of Kings, and only wanted the Name. But that to prevent their Domination from degenerating at length into a perpetual Tyranny, he demanded that a Choice ſhou'd be made of five of the beſt Men of the Republic, who ſhould be authoriz'd to reſtrain within due Bounds a Power ſo exceſſive; ſo that the Conſuls, for the future, might have no other Authority over their Fellow Citizens, but what thoſe very Citizens ſhou'd think fit to entruſt them with. Liv. l. 3. Dec. 1.

The Senators were all ſurpris'd and ſtartled at ſuch bold Propoſals: They then found, tho' too late, the truth of what the two *Appius*'s had ſo many times foretold 'em, that the People, after experiencing the Weakneſs of the Senate by ſo many Laws extorted from them, wou'd at length openly attack their Authority thro' the Sides of the Conſuls, who were the chief Support of it.

Luckily

Tit. Liv. l. 3. D.H. l. 10. Luckily for that Body, Q. *Fabius* in the absence of the Consuls was at that time Governor of *Rome*. He was of Consular Dignity, of an intrepid Spirit, full of Courage and Resolution, and an inviolable Adherent to the Laws and Constitution of the Republic.

Opposition made by Q. Fabius. This stout Magistrate finding the Consular Dignity in danger of being ruin'd by that enterprizing Tribune, dispatch'd away different Messengers privately to the two Consuls, with notice of what had offer'd, and to conjure them to hasten back to *Rome* with all Expedition. He then convened the Senate, and represented that till then the *Romans* in judicial Matters had contented themselves with the Custom of going according to natural Right, and the sole Principles of Equity and good Sense. That Multiplicity of Laws serv'd only to cloud the Truth of Things; adding, that he foresaw, with Grief, all the Misfortunes that wou'd befal the Republic from this judiciary Form endeavour'd at by TERENTILLUS. He afterwards insinuated with much Smoothness, that even tho' such Changes might be thought necessary, it was neither honourable nor just in the Citizens at home, to proceed to a Decision in the Absence of the two Consuls, and of such part of the People who compos'd their Armies. That when they return'd home they might justly resent the hurrying of an Affair of such consequence, which as it affected each particular Man, ought not to have been determined but in a general Assembly of the whole *Roman* People. That the Consuls, as Chiefs of the Republic, wou'd protest against whatever shou'd be decreed without their Privity; whereas so soon as ever those two supreme Magistrates appear'd in the Senate, and the whole People were got together, such Measures might be concerted as shou'd be most suitable to the Good of the State, and the Welfare of the Republic. *Fabius* then inveighed

inveigh'd with great Vehemence againſt the Author of theſe new Propoſals. He ſaid, that TERENTILLUS took advantage of the Abſence of the Conſuls to attack the Republic; and if the Year before, while the Plague and a War laid waſte the City of *Rome* and its Territory, the Gods in their Wrath had permitted that ſeditious Tribune to be in Office, the Commonwealth wou'd never have been able to have ſtood againſt ſuch ſevere Scourges, and that then TERENTILLUS wou'd infallibly have come at the Head of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* and deſtroyed *Rome*, or at leaſt have changed the Form of its Government, tho' founded by their Anceſtors under ſuch happy Auſpices. Then ſoftning his Style a little, he addreſs'd his Speech to the other Tribunes, and conjured them by the Safety of their Country to make no Innovation till the return of the Conſuls.

The greater part of the Tribunes, overcome by his Intreaties and the Solidity of his Reaſons, inſiſted no longer on the firſt Demand of TERENTILLUS concerning the Limitation of the Conſuls Power. Or perhaps the true Cauſe why they wav'd the Deſign of leſſening the Conſular Authority, was their hopes of riſing ſome time or other to that Poſt themſelves. But they perſiſted in demanding a Choice to be made from among the Senators and *Plebeians* of proper Perſons, to compoſe and form a Body of Laws, for determining Suits among the Citizens. However, upon the Inſtances of *Fabius* they conſented to ſuſpend the Proſecution of that Affair, and the Conſuls at their return found the City quiet; but this Tranquility continued not long. The *Hernici*, who at that time were in Alliance with the *Roman* People, gave Intelligence that their Neighbours the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were ſecretly arming, and that the new Colony of *Antium* was enter'd into that Confederacy. We have before related, that for want of a ſufficient Number

of

of *Roman* Citizens willing to settle in that Colony, it was fill'd with People pickt up from different Parts, *Latins*, *Hernici*, and *Tuscans*; some *Volsci-ans* too had stoln in among 'em. As these Adventurers out-number'd the *Romans*, they had a Majority in the Council. They carried on a private Correspondence with the Enemies of *Rome*; and tho' they had not as yet declar'd openly against the Republic, their Fidelity began to be suspected.

Tumults raised by the Tribunes.

Mean while the Senate, to be provided against any Surprize, order'd the two Consuls forthwith to raise Forces: This raising of Forces was call'd among the *Romans*, *making a Choice*, because the Citizens being all Soldiers, the Consuls in case of a War had a Power to chuse such as they thought proper for the Service. These two Magistrates having caused their Tribunal to be erected in the *Forum*, cited such as they had pitcht upon for the War. But the Tribunes withstood them, and reviv'd the Proposals of TERENTILLUS for the compiling a Body of Laws; and *Virginius*, the most cholerick of the Tribunes, bawl'd out in the *Forum*, that this pretended War was nothing but a Trick of the Senate to draw the People out of *Rome*, and so hinder 'em from giving their Votes in an Affair that so nearly concern'd every Individual.

The Contest ran high, and gave Birth to fresh Commotions. There was no longer seen either Obedience in the People, or Authority in the Consuls. Every thing was carry'd by meer Violence: And those supreme Magistrates having caused to be arrested a certain *Plebeian* who refus'd to go to the War, the Tribunes rescued him out of the Lictor's Hands, and set him at Liberty. The Consuls fearing to expose their Characters to greater Indignities, quitted the *Forum* and went their ways home, where they remained for some Days without once

appearing at thoſe tumultuous Aſſemblies (wherein ſuch had moſt Authority as cou'd make moſt Noiſe) eſpecially after it was known that the Intelligence of the *Hernici* was without grounds, and no ſuch thing as an Enemy ſtirring. The People's Ears were now dinn'd with the abſolute neceſſity of obliging the Conſuls to regulate their Judgments by a Body of Laws to be publiſht and made Notorious to every Man. But the Senate, under pretence of preſerving their ancient Uſages, cou'd not be brought to part with that Cuſtom of giving Judgment abitrarily.

This Year there were violent Earthquakes, and fiery Exhalations were ſeen in the Air. Theſe *Phenomena*, purely natural, but which however were by the Vulgar lookt upon as Forerunners of new Calamities, ſuperſeded this Affair for ſome time. Every one was full of ſiniſter Preſages, which Superſtition and Fear helpt to multiply. Some had ſeen Apparitions ſhifting each Moment into a thouſand Forms; others had heard ſupernatural Voices in the Night time. There are Eminent Hiſtorians who have not demurr'd to report upon the Veracity of theſe Viſionaries, that it rain'd raw Fleſh, and that while it was falling down piecemeal like Snow, Birds of Prey caught it in the Air with their Talons. Recourſe was preſently had to the Oracles; the Books of the *Sybils* were conſulted. The Depoſitaries of thoſe ſacred Books, all *Patricians*, gave out that *Rome* was threatned with a Siege, by ſome formidable Power, that wou'd take advantage of its inteſtine Diviſions. This Prediction ſeem'd to be Copy'd after what had lately happen'd in the Caſe of *Coriolanus*'s Enterpriſe. And the Tribunes probably ſuſpected the Prieſts had model'd their Anſwer by the Views and Intereſts of the Senate. But on the contrary, the Populace, who thought what had been, might be, and who dreaded to ſee

Year of Rome 292. *Prodigies; their Effects.*

Liv. l. 3. D.H.l.10.

ſee a ſecond *Coriolanus* at the Gates of *Rome*, oblig'd their Tribunes to have a Conference with the Senate, in order to contrive ſome way or other to put an end to their Contentions. Several Meetings were had, but all to no purpoſe. Neither of the Parties wou'd bate any thing of its Pretenſions.

The Law again propoſed.

At length, Time having diſpell'd that Terror which the Prieſts had endeavoured to infuſe into the People, the Tribunes aſſembled anew, and without conſulting the Senate, preſented to the Multitude a more explicite Draught of the *Terentillian* Law, importing, that the People ſhou'd inſtantly nominate five Commiſſioners to be choſen among the wiſeſt and moſt intelligent of the Senate. That the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould be empower'd to collect together, and put into Form, a Body of Civil Laws, as well in reſpect to publick Affairs, as private Differences that might ariſe between Man and Man. That they ſhou'd make their Report in an Aſſembly of the People, and poſt it up in the *Forum Romanum*, to the end that each individual Citizen might be apprized of the ſame, and enabled to give his Opinion thereof. The Tribunes having open'd this Project, declar'd, they would defer the Publication of it to the third Market Day, with intent that ſuch as ſhou'd happen to be of contrary Sentiments, might freely lay before the People the Reaſons of their Oppoſition.

Oppoſition of the Senate.

Many of the Senators began to exclaim againſt this new Propoſal. It occaſion'd a world of Diſputes, without coming to any Iſſue. At length the Tribunes reſolv'd to carry their Point by Force. They accordingly conven'd another Aſſembly, wherein the whole Senate appear'd. The Heads of that Body urg'd to the People in ſpight of the Tribunes, that it was a thing unheard of, that without a *Senatusconſultum*, without taking the

the Auſpices, and without conſulting either the Gods or the prime Men of the Republic, a part of the Citizens, even the moſt inconſiderable part, ſhou'd pretend to make Laws for all the Orders of the State. They inculcated their Reaſons into ſuch of the *Plebeians* as ſeem'd to be moſt rational. On the contrary, the Dregs of the Populace, prejudic'd by their Tribunes, with great Noiſe demanded the Ballot; but the youngeſt of the Senators, and the *Patricians*, quaſh'd the whole Project. QUINTIUS CESO, Son of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, a Conſular, was at the Head of 'em; he ruſhes into the Crowd, he knocks down or diſperſes all that were in his way; and by means of this Uproar, which he rais'd on purpoſe, he breaks off the Aſſembly, in ſpite of all that the Tribunes could do to keep them together. *Year of* Rome 292. Ceſo's *violent Behaviour.*

The Senators and *Patricians* beſtow'd on CESO large Encomiums, which only ſerv'd to heighten his Preſumption and his Rancour towards the Populace. He was a young Man, of an agreeable Figure, well ſhap'd, and had an extraordinary Strength of Body; by Nature proud, daring, and intrepid: He knew not what it was to fear, and had already ſignaliz'd himſelf by an uncommon Bravery in Battel. As he was no leſs an Orator than a Soldier, and was always the forwardeſt to anſwer the ſeditious Harangues of the Tribunes, thoſe Magiſtrates, enraged to find in one ſingle Man the Vigor of all the *Patricians*, conſpir'd his Ruin. After they had agreed among themſelves upon Articles of Impeachment, *A. Virginius* caus'd him to be ſummon'd before the Aſſembly of the People.

So long as CESO was in the Warmth of a Debate, ſupported by the Senate, who flattered his Vanity with their Applauſes, he made ſhow of great Reſolution and Firmneſs. But his Courage fail'd him at the Approach of his Tryal; and the Ceſo *accuſed; his Weakneſs.*

Example

Example of *Coriolanus* made a strong Impression in his Mind. He is now timorous, he is frighted, he repents of what is past, dreads what is to come, and, like a base Coward, almost resolves to desert his Party. He put on mourning Habit, and with a Countenance full of Sorrow and Humiliation, he went about, sneakingly begging the Favour of the meanest *Plebeian*.

The Day that his Affair was to come on, he had not the Resolution so much as to shew his Face to the People. His Father, accompanied by his Relations and Friends, was fain to appear for him. *A. Virginius* open'd his Accusation with Reflections upon Ceso's imperious Temper, his want of Respect for the Assemblies of the People, and the Outrages he had committed upon private Persons. 'And what will become of our 'Liberty, cry'd *Virginius*, when the *Patricians* 'shall have advanc'd to the Consulate this young 'ambitious Man, who now in his private Capa-'city already causes just Alarms to his Country, 'by his violent and audacious Deeds?' He then produc'd all the *Plebeians* who had been injur'd by Ceso, and who demanded Justice. His Relations and Friends, instead of going about to clear him of those pretended Violences, only answered the Tribunes Invectives with praising the Accused. Some recounted all the Battels wherein he had distinguished himself; others named the several Citizens whose Lives he had preserved in those Battels; *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consul, said he had carried him to the War with him; that he had often seen him in single Combat vanquish the bravest of the Enemy; and that he always look'd on him as the prime Soldier of the Army. *Lucretius*, who had been Consul the preceding Year, added, that it was for the Interest of the Republic to preserve so compleat a Citizen; and that Age, by increasing

Ceso defended.

ſing his Wiſdom, wou'd every Day take off from that impetuous Character which render'd him odious to the Multitude.

L. Quintius Cincinnatus, his Father, a Man the moſt eſteem'd of any of his Age for his Capacity in governing the State, and commanding the Armies, only begg'd the People to grant a Son to a Father that had never wrong'd any Citizen. The Reſpect and Veneration that was had for that illuſtrious old Man began to work upon the Multitude. But *Virginius*, who was bent upon *Ceſo*'s Ruin, anſwer'd *Cincinnatus*, that his Son was the more guilty, in as much as he neglected to improve by the Example of ſuch a Father. That he nouriſh'd in his Houſe the Tyrant of his Country, and that the bright Pattern of his Anceſtors ſhou'd have taught him to prize the public Liberty above his own Children. Liv. l. 3. c. 12. D.H. l. 10.

'After all, ſaid that Tribune, turning to the 'People, that it may not be thought I have any 'ſiniſter Views, I freely conſent, if you will, to 'wave the injurious Speeches *Ceſo* has made in 'our Aſſemblies againſt the People; as alſo the 'Violences he has exercis'd upon better Men than 'himſelf. But I beg that my Colleague, *M. Volſcius*, be heard in what he has to offer by way of 'private Complaint againſt him; and I hope the 'People will not leave unaveng'd one of their 'own Magiſtrates that has been ſo great a Sufferer 'by him.'

Then *Volſcius* aſcending the *Roſtrum*, to act the Part that had been before concerted between them, I cou'd have wiſh'd, ſaid he, directing his Speech to the People, it had been in my Power ſooner to have brought my Complaints for the Death of a moſt dear Brother whom *Ceſo* kill'd in my Arms. But the cuſtomary Violences of this *Ceſo*, together with the Intereſt and Credit of his Family, made me but too ſenſible what I Volſcius's *falſe Accuſation of* Ceſo.

'had myſelf to fear from ſuch a Proſecution. If 'I come too late to be his Accuſer, you cannot 'but give the hearing at leaſt to the ſad Teſti-'mony I bear of his Cruelty and Tyranny. It 'was, continu'd that Hypocrite, under the Con-'ſulate of *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius*, returning 'home one Evening, my Brother and I, from a 'Friend's Houſe where we had ſupp'd, we met 'hard by the public Stews *Ceſo*, full of Wine, 'and accompany'd, according to his Cuſtom, 'with ſeveral young *Patricians* inſolent as him-'ſelf, and who, belike, had been making a De-'bauch together in thoſe Houſes of Proſtitution. 'They at firſt attack'd us with abuſive Language, 'which I indeed was for taking no notice of. 'But my Brother, leſs patient than myſelf, an-'ſwering them as a Man that is Free and of a Spi-'rit wou'd do, CESO inſtantly fell upon him, 'and being much the ſtronger Man, he ſo bruis'd 'him with his Fiſts and his Feet, that he ex-'pir'd upon the Spot, notwithſtanding my Pray-'ers and Intreaties, which were the only Wea-'pons I had. I cou'd not carry my Complaints 'to the Conſuls, they dying the ſame Year of 'the Plague. *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius*, their 'Succeſſors, were long time in the Field; till 'they return'd I cou'd not think of forming my 'Action. But CESO hearing of my Deſign, came 'upon me one Night unawares in a by-place, 'and ſtriking me down, repeated his Blows ſo, 'that to avoid my Brother's Fate, I was forc'd to 'promiſe him never to mention what had befal'n 'either of us.

The People were ſo exaſperated at this Story, that, without examining into the Truth of the Fact, they were going immediately to condemn CESO to die; but *A. Virginius*, who was the Ma-nager of this whole Villany, thought fit to cloath it with the Appearance of Juſtice; and to deſtroy the

the Accuſed according to the ordinary Forms. He requir'd that ſince *Volſcius* had not his Witneſſes at hand, CESO ſhou'd be ſecur'd and impriſon'd till ſuch time as his Crime cou'd be prov'd. *T. Quintius*, his Kinſman, repreſented, that it was a thing unheard of in a Republic, that upon a bare Charge, a Citizen that was perhaps innocent ſhou'd be immediately arreſted and carried to Jail; and that this new Method of Procedure wou'd ſtrike at the public Liberty. But the Tribune maintain'd, that ſuch a Precaution was neceſſary, in order to prevent ſo great an Offender from eſcaping the Juſtice of the People. The Queſtion was debated with much Intemperance of Speech on both ſides. In the end, 'twas concluded, that the Party accuſed ſhou'd remain in Liberty, but that withal, ten Citizens ſhou'd be bound for his forth-coming on the Day he was to be try'd, or elſe pay ſuch Fine as ſhou'd be agreed upon between the Tribunes and Senate. *Ceſo*, tho' innocent, durſt not truſt himſelf to the Judgment of the People, but departing *Rome* that very Night, went and took ſhelter in *Tuſcany*. The Tribunes hearing of his Flight, exacted the Fine with ſo much Rigor and Severity, that *Quintius*, the Father of *Ceſo*, after having ſold beſt part of his Eſtate, was forc'd to baniſh himſelf to a poor Hovel on t'other ſide the *Tyber*: And that illuſtrious Conſular was oblig'd with his own Hands to cultivate five or ſix Acres of Land, which were all he then had to live upon, and which have ſince gone by his Name, *the Quintian Meadows*.

Ceſo *baniſhes himſelf.*

Ceſo being now in Exile, the two Tribunes thought the Senate muſt truckle to them, and flattered themſelves with hopes of ſeeing the Law forthwith eſtabliſh'd; but as it was an Affair that concern'd almoſt all the Great, the Nobility united themſelves more cloſely together after the Diſgrace of the Son of *Quintius*: And no ſooner was

D.H. l. 10.

the Scheme of a Body of Laws mentioned, but there ſprung up as it were a thouſand *Ceſo's*, all oppoſing it with the ſame Intrepidity. The time being come for chuſing new Conſuls, the Senate and *Patricians* in Conjunction, procur'd that Dignity to fall on *C. Claudius*, Brother of *Appius* that dy'd; and this they did becauſe he was ſtanch in the Intereſt of his Uncle, without partaking any thing of his rugged Temper. They aſſign'd him for Colleague *P. Valerius*, who having once before been Conſul, was therefore nam'd firſt Conſul in this Election.

Tribunes conſpire againſt the Patricians. *Year of* Rome 293.

The Tribunes plainly ſaw by this Combination of the whole Nobility, that even tho' they ſhou'd every Year deſtroy one or other of the *Patricians* by different Accuſations, they wou'd never get the better of a Body wherein there was no leſs Harmony than Power. Therefore without amuſing themſelves in proſecuting judicially ſuch of the *Patricians* as ſignaliz'd themſelves by oppoſing the Law, they ſecretly form'd the execrable Deſign of deſtroying at one Stroke the better Part of the Senate, and involving in their Ruin all ſuch *Patricians* who were obnoxious to them, or ſuſpected by them, on account either of their Wealth or Intereſt. In order to effect ſo deteſtable a Project, their Emiſſaries were ſent about to whiſper among the Rabble, as if ſome great Deſign was ſecretly hatching againſt their Liberty. Such flying Reports paſſing from Mouth to Mouth, were every time ſwell'd with ſome additional Circumſtance more and more dreadful, and which in the end fill'd the whole City with Inquietude, Trouble and Diſtruſt.

The Tribunes ſeeing the People's Minds prejudic'd, and in ſuch a Ferment as was proper to receive any Impreſſion, contriv'd a Letter to be
D.H. l. 10. deliver'd to themſelves in public. While they were ſitting in their Tribunal, a Stranger comes, and

and in ſight of all the People preſents them a Letter, and was gone again in an inſtant, and vaniſh'd among the Crowd. The Tribunes lay their Heads together, and read it to themſelves; and tho' they knew well enough beforehand every word it contain'd, yet did they affect to be aſtoniſh'd, and put on an Air of Surprize, the better to ſtir up the Curioſity of the People, and make them more uneaſy. Then riſing from their Seats, and having caus'd Silence to be proclaim'd by the Herald, *Virginius* addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, 'The 'Roman People, ſays he with Looks full of Conſternation, is threaten'd with the moſt dreadful 'Calamity that can poſſibly befal them: And if 'the Gods, who are Protectors of Innocence, 'had not diſcover'd the wicked Deſigns of our 'Enemies, we had been all loſt.' He added, that he muſt firſt make the Conſuls acquainted with the thing, and afterwards he wou'd give them an account of what ſhou'd be reſolv'd on by the Senate.

While theſe Magiſtrates were gone to wait on the Conſuls, their Emiſſaries, who had ſpread themſelves up and down among the Aſſembly, put about various Reports, all tending to make the *Patricians* more odious to the Multitude. Some ſaid in general, that for ſome time paſt there had been but too much Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome dangerous Plot was contriving againſt the Peoples Liberty; others, as if they knew more of the matter, affirm'd that the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, in Conjunction with the *Patricians*, were to put *Ceſo* at their Head, like another *Coriolanus*; and that with their Aſſiſtance he was to return again to *Rome* to revenge himſelf on his Enemies, aboliſh the Tribuneſhip, and reſtore the Government to its ancient Foundation; and that afterwards the Towns and Lands which had been taken from the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, were to be given 'em again as a Reward

for their Services: Some further affirm'd, that *Ceſo* was not gone out of *Rome:* That they had been told he was conceal'd by one of the Conſuls; that his Purpoſe was to aſſaſſinate the Tribunes ſome Night in their Beds. That all the young *Patricians* were concerned in this Plot; and that the Letter juſt now deliver'd into the Hands of the Tribunes, doubtleſs contain'd Advice and Proofs of it. In ſhort, theſe Creatures of the Tribunes made it their Buſineſs to talk diſmally about this myſterious Letter, with intent to keep up the People's Prejudice, and increaſe the Hatred they bore the Senate and *Patricians*.

The Tribunes being arriv'd at the Senate, *Virginius*, who was Spokeſman, addreſſing himſelf to the Conſuls and Senators, 'For a conſiderable 'time, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, there have 'been ſtrange Rumours in this City of a Plot up-'on the Liberty of the People. But as they were 'without Vouchers, we look'd upon them as 'empty Stories begot by Fear and Idleneſs. Since 'that time, we have received Intimations that 'are ſomewhat coherent, and cloath'd with bet-'ter Circumſtances; but as theſe likewiſe were 'without Voucher, or any Author's Name, we 'did not think them deſerving enough of your 'Notice, and therefore forbore to report them 'to you: At the ſame time, that nothing might 'be left undone in an Affair of this Conſequence, 'we caus'd enquiry to be made privately; where-'by we came at ſufficient Tokens of a Plot, tho' 'we cou'd not diſcover the Object thereof, nor 'who were at the Head of it, or otherwiſe 'engag'd in it. At length, not above two 'Hours ago, we are let into this dangerous Se-'cret. A Letter we juſt now received, as we were 'ſitting in our Tribunal, informs us that there is 'a Conſpiracy, and ſets forth the Deſign of the 'Conſpirators. The firſt Tokens which as I told

'ye

'ye we had come at, concur exactly with the 'Intelligence contain'd in this Letter. In ſo im-'minent a Danger, wherein to loſe time in deli-'berating how to puniſh this Crime, wou'd be 'almoſt as bad as the Crime itſelf, we haſtened, 'as in Duty bound, to come and give you Infor-'mation of it, and to lay before you ſuch things 'as will make your Ears tingle to hear.

'Be it known to you, Conſcript Fathers, we 'have received a Letter which adviſes us of Per-'ſons of the higheſt Rank, Senators and Knights, 'too many to be now particularly named, that 'have reſolved abſolutely to aboliſh the Tribu-'nate, and all the Rights and Privileges of the 'People. That to compaſs ſuch deteſtable De-'ſigns, they have agreed that *Ceſo Quintius*, at 'the Head of a Body of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, ſhall 'clandeſtinely and by Night come to ſuch a Gate 'of the City, which his Accomplices are to keep 'open for him; that he ſhall be introduced with-'out Noiſe into the City; and that the principal 'Conſpirators, divided into different Parties, and 'advantaged by the Darkneſs, ſhall go and fall 'upon the Tribunes unawares in their Houſes, 'and that at the very ſame time all our Throats 'were to be cut, together with the principal of 'the People, and ſuch as in the Aſſemblies were 'wont to expreſs moſt Zeal for the Defence of 'Liberty.

'We conjure you, Couſcript Fathers, not to 'give us up to the Rage of theſe Blood-hounds. 'In order to prevent their evil Deſigns, we hope 'you will not refuſe us a *Senatusconſultum*, im-'powering us to inform our ſelves of this Con-'ſpiracy, and to ſecure the Ring-leaders thereof. 'It is highly reaſonable that the Magiſtrates of 'the People take cognizance by themſelves of 'what concerns the Welfare of the People, and 'that ſuch a Decree as we demand be immediate-

'ly granted, without waſting time, as is too oft-
'en the Caſe in formal Speeches and putting of
'Queſtions: The leaſt Delay were dangerous:
'Who knows but this very Night may be pitch'd
'upon for the Execution of this bloody Deſign?
'To conclude, they muſt be Conſpirators them-
'ſelves that are againſt enquiring into the Con-
'ſpiracy.

There was not a Senator but deteſted ſuch an Attempt; they were however divided as to the Anſwer they ſhould make to *Virginius*. The more timorous were apprehenſive that a Refuſal wou'd irritate the People, and raiſe a Sedition. But thoſe, on the contrary, who were of a firmer Character, repreſented that it was no leſs dangerous to grant the Tribunes a *Senatusconſultum*, than to put Arms in the Hands of raging Madmen, who wou'd immediately employ them againſt the chief of the Senate. In this diverſity of Opinions, *C. Claudius*, one of the Conſuls, aroſe, and addreſſing himſelf to *Virginius*, declared that he did not oppoſe the Enquiry which he demanded; that he even conſented the *Plebeian* Magiſtrates ſhou'd be the Inquiſitors; but that firſt of all he was for examining whether the Conſpiracy were real and undeniable: 'Let us 'therefore, ſays he to him, ſee who ſent that 'myſterious Letter which you received in your 'Tribunal, and who are the Senators and Knights 'named in it. Why do not you name them your 'ſelf? Surely we have time enough to hear the 'Names of thoſe great Criminals. Why did you 'not at leaſt lay hold of the Bearer of an anony-'mous Letter, that contained ſo foul an Accuſa-'tion againſt the Principal Men in the Republic? 'I am no leſs ſurpriſed, that you have not made 'us ſenſible of the wonderful Concurrence there 'is between the Circumſtances, which at firſt 'made you ſuſpect ſome Conſpiracy to be on 'foot,

C. Claudius *vigorouſly oppoſes the Tribunes.*

'foot, and the Letter which acquaints you with 'the Heads and Accomplices of it. Is it poſſible 'you cou'd imagine the Senate wou'd deliver over 'our moſt illuſtrious Citizens to your Fury, upon 'the bare Credit of a Letter deſtitute of all man-'ner of Proofs?

'Yes, Conſcript Fathers, the Tribunes flatter'd 'themſelves you wou'd do this; and the Eaſineſs 'with which you have lately ſuffered us to be 'robb'd of *Ceſo*, made thoſe ſeditious Magiſtrates 'entertain a Notion, that under ſo weak a Go-'vernment, they might venture at any thing. This 'is the bottom of this Chymerical Conſpiracy with 'which they thought to frighten us; and if the 'State had reaſon to apprehend any Danger, it is 'only from theſe Wheedlers of the People, who 'tho' they ſet up for the Defenders of the Public 'Liberty are indeed its Enemies.

This Diſcourſe pronounced reſolutely by a Conſul, whoſe Penetration and Probity were acknowledged by all, quite caſt down the Courage of the Tribunes. They went out from the Senate with no leſs Shame than Indignation. The People were waiting for them: They repaired to the Aſſembly, where they inveighed equally againſt the Conſul, and againſt the whole Senate.

But *C. Claudius* followed them; he mounted the *Roſtrum* firſt. Arm'd with that Confidence which flows from Truth, he expreſt himſelf to the People in the ſame manner he had juſt done to the Senate, and ſpoke with ſo much Strength and Eloquence, that the better ſort among the People were convinced, thar this private Scheme of a Conſpiracy, about which the Tribunes made ſo much noiſe, was only an Artifice invented by themſelves, to have it in their Power to deſtroy their Enemies. None but the Rabble perſiſted in believing the Reality of this imaginary Conſpiracy, which helped to nouriſh their Hatred againſt the

Patricians:

Patricians: And the Tribunes carefully maintained them in an Error, which gave them an Opportunity of shewing their own Zeal.

Year of Rome 293. D.H.l.10. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. c. 15.

Herdonius's Enterprize.

In a Government so full of Troubles and Commotions, *Rome* was upon the brink of falling under a Foreign Yoke. A private *Sabine* formed a Design so daring; his Name was *Appius Herdonius*; a Man of distinction in his own Country for his Birth, Wealth, and the great Number of Clients who followed his Fortunes; withal, Ambitious, Bold, Enterprizing. He imagined it was not impracticable to surprize the City, because of the Divisions that raged between the People and the Senate. He reckon'd that he shou'd raise the Slaves, be joyn'd by all the Exiles, and even get the common People to declare for him, by entertaining them with Hopes that he wou'd make them the absolute Disposers of the Laws of the Government. His Design was, after having surpriſed *Rome*, to make himself the Sovereign of it; or to deliver up the City to the Community of the *Sabines*, in case he were not able with his own Forces to maintain himself in his Usurpation.

He first communicated his Design to his particular Friends. Many enter'd into his Project, in hopes of enriching themselves by the Plunder of *Rome*; by their means he raised Four Thousand Men, as well his own Clients, as a great number of Fugitive Slaves, Exiles, and Men of no Settlement, whom he gave a Retreat to in his own Estate. He then fill'd some flat-bottom'd Vessels with these Troops; and driving down the Stream of the *Tyber* in the Night-time, landed before Break of Day by the side of the Capitol. He got up the Hill without being perceived by any body, and under cover of the Darkness possessed himself of the Temple of *Jupiter*, and the Fortress adjoyning to it. Thence he throws himself into the neighbouring Houses, and cuts the Throats of all that

The Capitol taken.

that refuſe to join him, while part of his Soldiers fortify themſelves and cut Intrenchments along the Hill. Thoſe *Romans* that had eſcaped the firſt Fury of the *Sabines* run down to the City, carrying Terror and Affright along with them. The Alarm ſpreads every way; the Conſuls, awakened by the Noiſe, and no leſs fearful of the Domeſtic than the foreign Enemy, knew not whether this Tumult comes from within or without. Their firſt care is to place Guards in the *Forum*, and at the City Gates. The Night is ſpent in Doubts and Uneaſineſs: at length Day comes, and diſcovers who is at the Head of ſo daring and ſo ſtrange an Enterprize.

A Hat upon a Spear the Signal of Liberty.

Herdonius from the Top of the Capitol diſplays a Hat fixed upon a Spear, as the Signal of Liberty, with Deſign to engage the Slaves, who were very numerous in the City, to come and join him. His Soldiers, in order to keep the People from taking Arms, cry that their General is come to *Rome* only to free the Inhabitants from the Senate's Tyranny, to aboliſh Uſury, and ſet up Laws advantageous to the People. The Conſuls got the Senate together by break of Day. They agreed to make the People take Arms. The Tribunes declared they wou'd not oppoſe it, provided they did but know beforehand what Reward the Citizen and Soldier might expect, 'If you will promiſe us upon Oath, ſaid they to the Conſuls, 'that as ſoon as we have retaken the Capitol, you 'will nominate the Commiſſioners whom we de'mand for the eſtabliſhing of a Body of Laws, we 'are ready to march againſt the Enemies. But 'if you are yet inflexible, we ſhall take care to 'withhold the People from expoſing their Lives 'to ſupport ſo cruel and ſo tyrannical a Govern'ment.

The Senate heard not without the quickeſt Indignation, that the Tribunes ſhou'd thus ſet a Price

as it were upon the Defence of the City and the People's Service. It was plain they intended to take Advantage of the preſent dangerous Conjuncture. *C. Claudius* was rather for going without the People's mercenary Aſſiſtance, than buying it with ſuch odious Conditions. He was of opinion that the *Patricians* themſelves, with the help of their Clients, were powerful enough to drive out the Enemy. That if they ſhou'd happen to want a greater Number of Troops, they might call the *Latins* and the other Allies to their Aid: and that in caſe of Extremity, they had better arm even their Slaves than to ſubmit to the Tribunes. But the oldeſt Senators, and thoſe that had moſt Authority in that Aſſembly, ſeeing the Enemy over their Heads, and fearing the *Sabines*, the *Æqui* and the *Volſci* might be let into the City, were of opinion, that in ſo imminent a Danger they ought not to refuſe the People any thing that cou'd induce them to take Arms immediately. *P. Valerius*, firſt Conſul, who was of this mind, went to the *Forum*, and promiſed the People, that as ſoon as ever the Capitol was retaken, and the City reſtored to Quiet, he wou'd not hinder the Tribunes from propoſing the Law: And that as to his own particular, whenever it was brought into Deliberation, he wou'd only conſult the Good of his Fellow-Citizens, and wou'd always remember his Name as an hereditary Obligation upon him to favour the People's Intereſts in all Things that were not contrary to the general Good of the Republic. The People charm'd with theſe Hopes took Arms, and ſolemnly ſwore never to lay them down without leave from the Conſuls. The *Romans* called this way of arming *Tumultus*, becauſe occaſioned by unforeſeen Accidents. None was exempt from it. The General uſually pronounced theſe Words: *Let thoſe that wou'd ſave the Republic follow me.* Then ſuch as were aſſembled, ſwore all together

The People take Arms.

Tumultus & Conjuratio; *what thoſe words mean.*

ther to defend the Commonwealth to the laſt Drop of their Blood: which was call'd *Conjuratio*. When the People, all armed, had taken theſe Oaths, the two Conſuls, according to cuſtom, drew Lots which ſhou'd lead on the Attack. This Poſt fell to *Valerius*, and *Claudius* in the mean while marched out of the City at the Head of a Body of Troops, to hinder any Succours from coming to HERDONIUS, or to keep the Enemy from attacking any other part of the City to make a Diverſion.

But no Troops appeared in the Country, except one Legion, which *L. Mamilius*, the ſupreme Magiſtrate of *Tuſculum*, ſent of his own accord to the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: *Claudius* ordered it to march into the City. *Valerius* put himſelf at the Head of the Citizens and Allies, and marched ſtrait againſt the Enemy. The *Romans* and *Tuſculans* fought with equal Emulation. They ſtrove who ſhou'd have the Glory of forcing the Intrenchments firſt. HERDONIUS bore their Onſet with a determined Courage: He was beſides favoured by the Superiority of his Poſt. They fought for a long time with great Fury and equal Obſtinacy. The Day was already far ſpent, before it was poſſible to diſtinguiſh which ſide had the Advantage. The Conſul *Valerius* ſtriving by his own Example to encourage his Soldiers to make another Puſh, was ſlain at the Head of the Attack. *P. Volumnius*, a conſular Perſon that fought near him, cauſed his Body to be covered, in order to conceal from the Troops the Knowledge of ſo great a Loſs. He afterwards led them on with ſo much Bravery, that the *Sabines* were forced to give Ground, and the *Romans* carried the Intrenchments before they perceiv'd that they fought without a General. HERDONIUS, having loſt moſt of his Soldiers by diſputing the Ground Inch by Inch, ſeeing himſelf without Hopes, and his Fortifications forced, cauſed

The Capitol re-taken.

Herdonius *cauſes himſelf to be killed.*

sed himself to be killed, to avoid falling alive into the Hands of the *Romans*. Those few of his Soldiers that were left, fell most of them upon their own Swords; some threw themselves from the top of the Rock. Those that the *Romans* could take alive, were treated as Robbers. They no less severely punished the Deserters and Exiles that had joined HERDONIUS; and by this Victory the foreign Enemy was drove out of the City. But the domestic Foe still continued the most powerful in it, and the Tribunes even took Occasion from this Advantage, and the Promises of the Consul *Valerius*, to renew their Pretensions and to raise fresh Troubles.

Those Magistrates of the People, or to speak more properly those eternal Fomenters of all Seditions, cited *Claudius* to propose the Law, and thereby to satisfy the *Manes* of his Colleague, who had bound himself to do it in so solemn a manner. The Consul, to slacken their Heat and gain time, had recourse to various Pretences. At one time he excused himself from holding the Assembly, upon account of the Necessity there was of purifying the Capitol, and offering Sacrifices to the Gods. At another time he amused the People with Games and Public Spectacles. At length having quite worn out these Pretences, and finding himself close prest by the Tribunes, he declared that the Republic being deprived of one of her Rulers by the Death of *Valerius*, it was expedient, before they offer'd to establish any new Law, to proceed to the Election of another Consul; and accordingly he appointed the Day when the *Comitia* of Centuries shou'd be held. The Senate and the whole Body of the Nobility and *Patricians* who were so greatly concerned to oppose the Reception of this Law, resolved to chuse in the room of *Valerius* some Consular, whose Merit might please the People, and who yet wou'd take

care

care to defeat the Tribune's Propoſal. With this Intent they caſt their Eyes upon *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the Father of *Ceſo* whom the People had lately baniſhed with ſo much Malice. And they took their Meaſures ſo well, that the Day of Election being come, the firſt Claſs, conſiſting of eighteen Centuries of Cavalry, and fourſcore of Infantry, gave him their Voices. This unanimous Conſent of all the Centuries of a Claſs which out-number'd all the reſt, ſecured him that Dignity, and he was declared Conſul in his Abſence and without his Privity. The People were ſurprized and terrified at this Choice: They plainly ſaw that by ſetting over them a Conſul provoked with the Baniſhment of his Son, the whole Deſign was to defer the Publication of the Law. Nevertheleſs the Deputies of the Senate, without giving any heed to the People's Diſcontent, went to fetch QUINTIUS out of the Country, whither he was retired ſince his Son's Diſgrace, and where he tilled with his own Hands five or ſix Acres of Land which were left out of the broken Remains of his Fortune.

Quintius Cincinnatus *Conſul.*

Theſe Deputies found him driving the Plough with his own Hands. By ſaluting him Conſul, and preſenting him with the Decree of his Election, they made him acquainted with the Subject of their Journey. That venerable old Man was under ſome Doubt what Reſolution to take. Being wholly free from Ambition, in his own choice he preferr'd the Sweets of a rural Life to all the Pomp of the Conſular Dignity. Nevertheleſs, Love of his Country prevailing in his Mind above his own Satisfaction, he took leave of his Wife, and recommending to her the care of the Houſe, 'I fear, ſays he, my dear *Racilia*, our 'Fields will be but ill manured this Year. They at the ſame time inveſted him with a Robe bordered with Purple, and the Lictors with their Faſces

Faſces preſented themſelves to guard him and receive his Commands. Thus his Merit and the Neceſſities of the State brought him back to *Rome*, where he had never ſet his Foot ſince his Son's Diſgrace. He had no ſooner taken Poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip, but he got an exact Relation to be made to him of all that happened in *Herdonius*'s Invaſion. Thence taking occaſion to convene the Aſſembly of the People, he mounted the *Roſtrum*, and without declaring himſelf either for the People or Senate, he reprimanded them both with equal Severity. He reproached the Senate, that by their continual Compliance with all the Tribunes Pretenſions, they had fed the Inſolence and rebellious Spirit of the People. He ſaid there was left in the Senators none of that love of their Country, and that deſire of Glory which ſeemed to be ſo natural to their Order. That a timorous Policy had taken place of the legal Authority, and of the firm Reſolution which was ſo neceſſary in Government. He added, that an unbridled Licentiouſneſs reigned in *Rome*: That Subordination and Obedience ſeemed quite baniſhed from it. That now but lately, to the ſhame of the *Roman* Name, ſome ſeditious Men had been ſeen to put a Price upon the Defence of their City, ready to acknowledge *Herdonius* for their Sovereign, if they might not change the Form of the Government. 'This is the Fruit, cried he, 'of thoſe continual Harangues with which the 'People are ſo infatuated. But I ſhall take care 'to carry them out of the way of theſe Seducers, which now reign in *Rome* with more Inſolence and Tyranny than ever did the *Tarquins*. 'Know then, Ye *Roman* People, that my Colleague and I have reſolved to make War upon 'the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*. We declare too, that 'we will even paſs the Winter in the Field without ever re-entering, during our Conſulate, in-

'to

Quintius Cincinnatus's diſintereſted Speech.

'to a City ſo full of Seditions. We command 'all thoſe that have taken the military Oath to 'appear to-morrow with their Arms at the *Lake* '*Regillus*. That ſhall be the Rendezvous of the 'whole Army.

Diſpute between the Tribunes and Conſuls.

The Tribunes anſwered in a ſcoffing manner, that they did not know but he might chance to go to the War alone with his Colleague, and that they wou'd take care no Levy ſhou'd be made. 'We ſhall not want Soldiers, replied *Quintius*; 'and we have yet under our Command all thoſe 'that took Arms before the Capitol, and ſwore 'ſolemnly not to lay them down again without 'Permiſſion from the Conſuls. If by your Inſti-'gation they refuſe to obey us, the Gods Aven-'gers of Perjury will know how to puniſh them 'for their Deſertion.

Religiouſneſs of the Romans.

The Tribunes, to evade ſo poſitive an Engagement, cried out that that Oath bound them only to the Perſon of *Valerius*, and ſo was buried with him in his Tomb. But the People, more plain-hearted, and in thoſe Days ignorant of the pernicious Art of interpreting the Laws of Religion according to their own Purpoſes, rejected ſo frivolous a Diſtinction. Every Man prepared himſelf to take Arms, tho' very unwillingly. What ſtill increaſed their Repugnance, was a Report which was ſpread about, that the Conſuls had given private Directions to the *Augurs* to be very early in the Morning at the Bank of the *Lake*. It was apprehended that their Deſign was to hold a general Aſſembly there, and that ſo all which had been done in former ones for the Advantage of the People might there be annulled, ſince they cou'd then receive no Benefit from the Aſſiſtance and Oppoſition of the Tribunes, whoſe Authority and Function were confined to a Mile about *Rome*: So that if they had gone to that Aſſembly, they wou'd have had no more Regard paid to

them, than the meaneſt *Plebeian*, and been equally ſubject to the Power of the Conſuls.

Quintius's ſevere but prudent Conduct.

QUINTIUS, to keep the People in Awe, gave out over and above, that at his Return he wou'd convene no Aſſembly for the Election of new Conſuls; but that he was reſolved to name a Dictator, to the Intent that the Seditious might learn by their Puniſhment, that all the Harangues of the Tribunes wou'd not be ſufficient to ſhelter them from the Power and definitive Sentences of the ſupream Magiſtrate.

The People, who till then had never made War but againſt Enemies bordering upon *Rome*, being always accuſtomed to return home to their Houſes at the end of every Campaign, were ſtruck with Conſternation at a Deſign which threatened to make them ſpend the Winter in a Camp. The Tribunes were no leſs alarmed at the Thoughts of an Aſſembly out of *Rome*, where Reſolutions might be taken contrary to their Intereſts. Both one and t'other, intimidated by the Firmneſs of the Conſuls, had recourſe to the Senate. The Women and Children, all in Tears, conjured the principal Men in the Senate to mollify *Quintius*, and to prevail with that rigorous Magiſtrate that their Husbands and their Fathers might return to their Homes at the end of the Campaign. The Affair was put upon a kind of Negotiation. This was the Point to which the Conſul by this affected but neceſſary Severity wanted to bring the Tribunes. A ſort of Proviſional Treaty was made between them: QUINTIUS promiſed not to take Arms, and not to force the Troops to winter in the Field, unleſs he were conſtrained to do it by ſome new Incurſions of the Enemies; and the Tribunes on their parts bound themſelves to make no Propoſal to the People concerning the Eſtabliſhment of the new Laws.

QUIN-

QUINTIUS, inſtead of making War, ſpent the whole time of his Conſulate in diſpenſing Juſtice between Man and Man. He gave Audience to every body freely; he examined the Pleas of each Party with Attention, and then gave ſuch equitable Judgments, that the People charmed with the Mildneſs of his Government, ſeemed to have forgot that there was any ſuch thing as Tribunes in the Republic.

Notwithſtanding a Conduct ſo full of Moderation and Equity, *Virginius*, *Volſcius*, and the reſt of the Tribunes, uſed all their Endeavours to get themſelves perpetuated in the Tribuneſhip, alledging that the People ſtood in need of their Zeal and Capacity to procure the Reception of *Terentillus*'s Propoſal. The Senate, foreſeeing the Abuſes that might proceed from ſuch a perpetual Magiſtracy, made a Decree prohibiting any Citizen (in the Elections) from ſtanding two Years together for the ſame Office. But without any regard to a Regulation ſo neceſſary for the maintaining of the public Liberty, thoſe Tribunes, accuſtomed to the Sweets of Authority, made ſo much ſtir, that they were continued in the ſame Employment a third time. The Senate apprehending there was nothing which thoſe ſeditious Spirits wou'd not attempt, without conſidering the Decree they had juſt publiſhed, were alſo on their ſide for continuing QUINTIUS in the Conſulſhip; but that great Man oppoſed it warmly; he repreſented with great Gravity to the Senators the wrong they did themſelves in offering to violate their own Laws. That nothing ſhewed the Weakneſs of the Government more than that Multitude of new Laws which were propoſed daily but never obſerved. That it was by this wavering Conduct, that they juſtly drew upon themſelves the Contempt of the Multitude. The Senate, equally touched with the Wiſdom and the Mode-

Val Max. l. 4. c. 1.

ration of *Quintius*, return'd to his Opinion. The Election was made; *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* and *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis* were named Conſuls for the enſuing Year. Scarce was QUINTIUS out of his Poſt, but he went back to the Country, to reſume his former Labour and Occupations.

Year of Rome 294.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

After his Departure, the Friends of his Family, and among others *A. Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius*, both Quæſtors that Year, provoked at the unjuſt Exile of *Ceſo*, proſecuted *M. Volſcius* his Accuſer for being the Author and Miniſter of ſo cruel a Proſecution. Thoſe two Quæſtors, by the Power belonging to their Office, convened the Aſſembly of the People. They produced their Witneſſes, ſome of which gave Teſtimony that they had ſeen *Ceſo* in the Army, on the very Day when *Volſcius* pretended he killed his Brother at *Rome*; others affirmed that *Volſcius*'s Brother died of a languiſhing Diſtemper, which was upon him ſome Months, and that he never ſtirred out of his Houſe after he fell ill. Theſe Facts and many others were atteſted by ſo many Perſons of unqueſtionable Credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volſcius*'s Malice in this Calumny. But the Tribunes being the Colleagues and Accomplices of *Volſcius*, put a ſtop to this Proſecution, declaring they wou'd not ſuffer the Peoples Votes to be gathered upon any Affair whatſoever, before they had given their Suffrages with relation to the Laws propoſed. The Senate made uſe of the ſame Excuſe in their turn, and whenever the five Commiſſioners demanded by the Tribunes were talk'd of, revived the Buſineſs of *Volſcius*. The Conſulate of *Fabius* and *Cornelius* paſs'd away in theſe ſucceſſive Contentions.

Volſcius *accuſed.*

The Wars broke out afreſh under that of *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius* their Succeſſors. The *Sabines* and *Æqui* renewed their Irruptions. *Nautius* marched againſt the *Sabines*, defeated them, and

Year of Rome 295.

and entred their Territory, where he laid all waſte with Fire and Sword. *Minutius* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Æqui*. That timorous General, who thought leſs of conquering than of avoiding being conquered, had like to have periſhed with his whole Army thro' Exceſs of Precaution. He ſuffered himſelf to be puſhed by the Enemy into Straits, where at his Back, at his Right and Left he had Mountains that indeed covered his Camp, but at the ſame time hinder'd him from going out of it. This rugged Place left him but one Paſſage out: The *Æqui* were beforehand with the *Romans*, and got Poſſeſſion of it. They then fortified themſelves there in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible to conſtrain them to fight: They eaſily fetched their Proviſions and Forage from the Country behind them, while the *Roman* Army, ſhut up within the Straits of thoſe Mountains, were in want of every thing. Some Horſemen, who under cover of the Night made their way thro' the Enemy's Camp, carried the News to *Rome*. They ſaid, that the Army being ſurrounded on all ſides, and in a manner beſieged, wou'd for want of Proviſions be oblig'd to throw down their Arms, if they were not ſpeedily relieved. *Quintus Fabius*, the Governor of the City, immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to the other Conſul to inform him of the Extremity his Colleague was in: *Nautius* leaving his Army under the Command of his Lieutenants, ſet out privately, and repaired to *Rome* in all haſte. He arrived there in the Night, and after conferring out of hand with ſome of the chief of the Senate, it was agreed, that it was neceſſary upon this Occaſion to have recourſe to the Remedy, which was wont to be made uſe of in the greateſt Calamities, that is to ſay, to name a Dictator. The Conſul, according to the Prerogative of the Conſulſhip, named L. QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, and returned with the ſame Diligence to put himſelf again at

Year of Rome 295.

L. Q. Cincinnatus *Dictator.*

the Head of his Army. The Governor of *Rome* ſent the Conſul's Decree to *Quintius*; they found that great Man as before, cultivating his little Inheritance with his own Hands. The Deputies, at the ſame time that they gave him Information of his new Dignity, preſented to him four and twenty Lictors armed with Axes bound up in their Faſces, a kind of Guards uſed by the ancient Kings of *Rome*, and which the Conſuls had retained in Part, only they never carried Axes in the City but before the Dictator. The Senate having Notice that *Quintius* drew near, ſent him a Boat in which he croſs'd the *Tyber*; his three Children, his Friends, and the principal of the Senate received him at his Landing, and conducted him to his Houſe. The Dictator next Day named for General of his Horſe *L. Tarquitius*, a *Patrician* of uncommon Valour, but who not having wherewithal to buy and keep a Horſe, had till then never ſerved but in the Infantry. Thus all the Hopes of the Republic lay in an old Man juſt taken from the Plough, and in a Foot-Soldier intruſted with the general Command of the Horſe.

But theſe Men, whoſe Poverty was glorious to them, wanted for no Greatneſs of Soul and Valour in Command. The Dictator ordered the Shops to be ſhut up, and all Inhabitants that were of an Age fit to bear Arms, to be before Sun-ſet in the Field of *Mars*, each with twelve Stakes, and Victuals for five Days. He then put himſelf at the Head of theſe Troops, and before Day arrived pretty near the Enemy's Camp. He went himſelf and viewed it, as well as the Obſcurity of the Night would permit him. His Soldiers by his Command made ſeveral loud Shouts, to give the Conſul Notice of the Arrival of Succour; they intrenched themſelves, and fortified their Intrenchments with a Palliſado, made of the Stakes they had brought from *Rome:* And theſe Intrenchments

Quintius *ſaves the Conſul's Army.*

ments ſerved at the ſame time to ſhut up the Enemy's Camp. The General of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duilius*, endeavoured, notwithſtanding the Darkneſs, to interrupt this Work. His Troops advanced, but with that Fear and Doubt which is always occaſioned by the Night and a Surprize. *Quintius*, who foreſaw this Attack, ſet one part of his Army againſt them, while the other continued to intrench themſelves. The Noiſe of Arms, and the Shouts of the Combatants made the Conſul yet more certain that Succour was come. He attacked the Camp of the *Æqui* on his ſide, not ſo much with hopes of carrying it, as with deſign to make a Diverſion. This ſecond Attack drew part of the *Æqui* to that ſide, and gave the Dictator time to finiſh his Intrenchments, ſo that the Enemy at break of Day ſaw themſelves in their turn beſieged by two Armies. The Battel began anew at the return of Light. The Dictator and Conſul then attacked the Enemy's Camp with their whole Power. *Quintius* found the part that he attacked the leaſt fortified, becauſe the General of the *Æqui* did not imagine he ſhou'd have occaſion to defend himſelf on that ſide: He made but a weak Reſiſtance, and being apprehenſive that his Camp wou'd be won Sword in Hand, he had recourſe to Negotiation. He ſent Deputies to the Conſul, who, without ſo much as hearing their Meſſage, referred them to the Dictator. Thoſe Deputies being come to his Preſence, notwithſtanding the heat of the Action, conjured him to reſtrain the Impetuoſity of his Soldiers, and not to make his Glory of the Deſtruction of almoſt a whole Nation; and offered him to quit their Camp and retire without Baggage, without Cloaths and without Arms. QUINTIUS replied ſternly, that he did not eſteem them ſo much as to think their Death wou'd be of any conſequence to the Republic; that therefore

D.H. l. 10. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. c. 28. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 7.

fore he freely granted them their Lives; but that their General and principal Officers must remain Prisoners of War, and all their Soldiers pass under the Yoke, otherwise he wou'd immediately cut them all to Pieces. The *Æqui* being surrounded every way, submitted to all the Conditions that their victorious Enemy pleased to impose on them. Two Javelins were fixed in the Earth, and a third fastened acros upon the Points of those. All the *Æqui*, naked and unarmed, passed under this military Portico: An Infamy which the Conquerors were wont to impose upon the Vanquished, who cou'd neither fight nor retire. At the same time they delivered up to the *Romans* their General and Officers, who were reserved to attend the Dictator's Triumph.

The Æqui pass under the Yoak.

Quintius gave the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp to the Army he had brought with him from *Rome*, without retaining any thing for himself, or suffering the Troops of the Consul, whom he had relieved, to take any share in it. 'Soldiers, said 'he to them severely, you that were upon the 'Brink of falling a Prey to our Enemies, you shall 'have no share in their Spoils. Then turning to the Consul: 'And you, *Minutius*, added he, you 'shall never more command these Legions in 'Chief, till you have shewn more Courage and 'Capacity. This military Correction did not at all lessen the Respect and Acknowledgment which these Troops paid their Deliverer; and the Consul and his Soldiers decreed him a Crown of Gold of a pound Weight, for having saved the Lives and Honour of his Fellow-citizens.

The Senate having received Advice of the Victory which the Dictator had obtained, and the judicious Partition he had made of the Enemy's Spoils, being perfectly ashamed that so great a Captain shou'd spend his old Age in Poverty, sent him word they design'd he shou'd take to himself

a conſiderable Share of the Booty he had won from the Enemy. They were even for allotting him a Portion of the Lands conquered from the *Æqui*, with a ſufficient Number of Slaves and Cattle to ſtock it. But QUINTIUS thought he owed his Country yet a greater Example. He preferred that Poverty, which he look'd upon as the *Aſylum* and Support of Liberty, to all the Wealth that was offered him; being perſuaded that nothing can be more free and independent than a Citizen, who without having any Expectations from others, receives his whole Subſiſtance from his own Labour or Inheritance.

Quintius's *Diſintereſtedneſs.*

This great Man, in leſs than a Fortnight's time, brought off the Conſul's Army, defeated that of the Enemy, and returned back to *Rome* in Triumph. There were led before his Chariot the Enemy's General, and a great Number of Officers in Chains, who were the chief Ornament of that Proceſſion. The *Roman* Soldiers followed him with Garlands of Flowers upon their Heads, celebrating his Victory with military Songs. He then abdicated the Dictature the ſixteenth Day after his Advancement to it, tho' he might legally have held that Dignity ſix Months. Such uncommon Moderation added yet more to his Glory, and the Love of his Fellow-citizens.

The Friends of his Family laying hold of this favourable Conjuncture, at length prevailed to have *Volſcius* the Accuſer of *Quintius Ceſo*, his Son, brought to a Trial before his Abdication. The Aſſembly was held; the Informer being convicted of Calumny and falſe Teſtimony, was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment; *Ceſo* was recalled home, and the Tribunes finding the People adored his Father, durſt not oppoſe ſo juſt a Sentence. *Quintius*, contented with his Son's Return, and cloathed with Glory, broke away from the Praiſes and Applauſe of the *Romans*, and went again and buried himſelf

Cic. pro domo ſuo. Ceſo *recall'd from Exile.*

in his Cottage, where he fell once more to his old Labours.

New Disturbances raised by the Tribunes of the People. Year of Rome 296.

He did not stay there long; new Disturbances raised by the Tribunes of the People upon account of the Publication of the *Terentillian* Law, out of spite at *Ceso*'s Return, obliged the Senate to recall his Father, to set him up against those seditious Magistrates. The *Sabines* and *Æqui*, under the Consulate of *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius*, had lately been making their customary Inroads up to the very Gates of *Rome*. The Senate immediately ordered the two Consuls to march against the Enemies out of hand. The Conduct of the Army appointed against the *Æqui* fell by Lot to *Horatius*; and *Minucius* was intrusted with the Command of that which was designed against the *Sabines*. But when the People were to arm, the Tribunes opposed it, and protested in their old way, that they wou'd not suffer one *Plebeian* to give his Name to go to the War, till they proceeded to the Election of the Commissioners. The Consuls, who cou'd not without Concern see the Enemy laying waste the Territory of *Rome* with Impunity, convened the Senate to find Means to remove their Opposition. *Quintius*, who was come back from his Country Retreat, represented with his usual Firmness, that instead of wasting time in contending with the Tribunes, they ought to march directly against the Enemy; that if the People, still mis-led by their Tribunes, persisted in their Disobedience, he advised that the whole Senate and the *Patricians*, with their Friends and Clients, shou'd take Arms; that 'spite of the Tribunes, they shou'd be follow'd by all good Men who sincerely loved their Country; that for his part, tho' depressed with Years, he was ready to set the Example first, and that they shou'd find in Battel either a glorious Victory or an honourable Death.

The

The whole Senate applauded ſo generous a Reſolution. Thoſe venerable old Men haſted to their Houſes to take Arms; and attended by their Sons, their Clients and their Servants, they repaired to the *Forum*, where the Conſul *C. Horatius* had convened the Aſſembly. The People all flocked thither, and ſeemed touched at ſo new a Sight. The Conſul repreſented to them, that all thoſe illuſtrious Men choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to almoſt a certain Death, than to endure the Enemy any longer at the Gates of *Rome*, and exhorted all good Citizens to join them, in order to avenge the Glory of the *Roman* Name. But *Virginius*, who had got himſelf continued five Years together in the Tribuneſhip, cried out with great Vehemence, that he wou'd never ſuffer the People to take Arms till the Buſineſs of the Laws was firſt determined. The Conſul, upon this, turning towards the Tribune with a Countenance full of Indignation: 'It muſt be confeſſed, ſays he to him, you perform a very heroic Action, and keep ſtrictly up to your ordinary Behaviour, in fomenting eternal Diviſions between the People and the Senate; but do not imagine your Clamours and Oppoſition ſhall make us abandon the Republick, founded upon ſuch fortunate Auſpices. Know, *Virginius*, and you other Tribunes, that theſe illuſtrious old Men, whom you ſee bending more under the Number of their Years, than the Weight of their Armour, are going to fight generouſly againſt the Enemies of the *Roman* Name; while You, the intrepid Defenders of the People's Rights, lie hid behind our Walls, and, like fearful Women, wait with Anxiety for the Event of the War. Unleſs perhaps you pleaſe yourſelves with a fancy, that after the doubtful Chance of Arms has rid you of the Senate and the *Roman* Nobility, the Enemy, when victorious, as a Recompence of your

The Conſul C. Horatius's Speech.

'Cowardice and Baseness, will leave you in a quiet 'Enjoyment of the Tyranny you have usurped, 'and not destroy *Rome*, tho' in every Part of it 'they find nothing but Monuments and Trophies 'of their former Defeats.

'But even tho' for your sakes they shou'd spare 'it, be assured, that our Wives and Children, af-'ter having lost their Fathers, their Husbands, 'and all that was most dear to them, will have 'too much Courage to survive us; they are firm-'ly resolved to set every thing in Flames, and so 'bury themselves under the Ruins of their Coun-'try. Such, O *Romans*, added the Consul, are 'the dismal Effects which your perpetual Dissen-'tions must unavoidably produce.

The People were melted at so moving a Discourse; every body shed Tears: The Consul finding them softened, and giving way himself to his Sorrow, 'Are not you ashamed, added he, to see 'those illustrious old Men, those Senators whom 'you call your Fathers, devote themselves gene-'rously to a certain Death for a rebellious and 'insolent People? Do you deserve the Name of '*Romans?* And ought you not to hide your Heads 'with Confusion, false as you are to your Coun-'try, Deserters of her Armies, and greater Ene-'mies to your Generals than the very *Æqui* and '*Sabines?*

Virginius, perceiving that the Consul's Reproach made an Impression upon the Multitude, thought it time to conform to the present Conjuncture; and assuming a milder Behaviour; 'No, we will 'never abandon you, Conscript Fathers, said he, 'nor are we capable of betraying the Interests of 'our Country. We will live and die with you: 'Death must be pleasant to us, fighting under 'such worthy Leaders for the common Defence 'of our Country. It is true, that being Citi-'zens of the same State, and contributing all e-'qually

The Tribune's moderate Answer.

'qually, and with the Price of our Blood, to 'eſtabliſh Liberty, we have demanded Laws ſu-'perior to the Authority of the Senate, and re-'ſtrictive of its Extent. But is it not the eſſen-'tial Conſtitution of all Republican States, that 'no Body ſhou'd be ſubject to any but the Law, 'and that the Law ſhou'd be more powerful than 'the Magiſtrate? Nevertheleſs, if you perſiſt in 'your Reſolution of ſtanding to the ancient Cu-'ſtoms, I conſent for my Particular to mention 'it no more; I will even wave my Oppoſition; 'and I am ready to exhort the People to take 'Arms and follow you, provided you will grant 'them one Favour, which will be of Service to 'them, without being at all detrimental to your 'Authority.

The Conſul made Anſwer, that if his Requeſt was reaſonable, the People wou'd always find the Senate ready to favour them, and that he might freely ſpeak his Mind. *Virginius* having conferred a moment with his Colleagues, replied, that he deſired he might explain himſelf in the Senate. The Conſuls immediately adjourned to it: *Virginius* follow'd them: He carried with him the Original Decree of the Creation of the Tribunes. Being admitted into the Aſſembly, he read it aloud with the Permiſſion of the Conſuls, and added: 'All that the People requeſt of you by my 'Mouth, Conſcript Fathers, is, that you wou'd 'pleaſe to add five Tribunes more to thoſe that 'were firſt eſtabliſhed upon the *Mons Sacer*, ſo 'that hencefore the five firſt Claſſes may each 'have two Tribunes.' *Virginius* then retired, to leave the Senate to deliberate about his Propoſal. *Caius Claudius* highly oppoſed this new Demand. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that to add five more Tribunes to the five old ones, was to multiply the number of their Enemies; that by degrees they wou'd form a ſecond Senate, whoſe only

Virginius demands to have ten Tribunes of the People created inſtead of five.

Diſputes upon this Occaſion.

only Aim wou'd be to ruin the Authority of the first. But *Quintius* took this in another light; he maintained on the contrary, that by multiplying the Number of the Tribunes, it wou'd make it the more easy to sow Division among them. That there wou'd always be some one less seditious than the rest, who out of respect to the Senate, or perhaps out of Jealousy, wou'd oppose the Enterprizes of the others, which wou'd be sufficient to prevent them from taking effect. That they ought to rejoice to see them renounce for this the new Laws which they before demanded so earnestly; since no body was to be told, that in matter of Government, all Change in the Laws shook the very Foundations of the State. The Opinion of that great Man pass'd by plurality of Voices. *Virginius* was call'd in again; the first Consul inform'd him that the Senate granted his Request. He took care to set off this new Favour in Terms agreeable to the Dignity of the Body which he was at the Head of: And the Senate and People, with a mutual Agreement, concurred equally, though with opposite Views, to the Augmentation of the Number of the Tribunes.

Year of Rome, 296. *Establishment of the Tribunes.*

It was not long e'er the Senate found that their Compliance with the last Demands of the People, only put them upon new Pretensions. And indeed, the Tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their Number, proposed that Mount *Aventine* shou'd be granted to the People, or at least that part of it which was not occupied by *Patricians*. *L. Icilius*, the Head of the College of Tribunes, remonstrated, that the Land of that Mountain belonged to the Republic; that some *Patricians* had indeed purchased certain Parcels of it; but that others had got Possession of what they enjoyed by mere Usurpation. That the remaining part of that Ground being uncultivated and

The Tribunes propose that Mount Aventine *shou'd be granted to the People.*

D.H.l.10.

and uninhabited, he demanded that it ſhou'd be given *gratis* to the People, who growing daily more numerous, began now to want Habitations. He propoſed at the ſame time, that the *Patricians* ſhou'd be confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Parcels which they ſhou'd ſhew good Claims to, and that thoſe of that Order ſhou'd be turned out who had built upon it without any lawful Title, being however firſt repaid the Value of the Houſes they had built.

To outward Appearance there was nothing but Juſtice in this Propoſal: It was beſides a Matter of ſmall Importance: But *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, the Conſuls for that Year, apprehending that from this Partition of Mount *Aventine*, the People might claim a Right to renew their old Pretenſions upon the conquered Lands, delayed calling the Senate, in hopes this new Demand wou'd by degrees fall of itſelf. *Icilius* perceiving the Deſign of the Conſuls in this affected Omiſſion to convene the Senate, ventured upon an Attempt never heard of before: He ſent them an Apparitor, commanding them to aſſemble the Senate forthwith, and repair to it themſeves without delay.

Year of Rome 297.

Enterprize of the Tribune Icilius.

The Conſuls, juſtly provoked at the Tribune's Audaciouſneſs, and the Apparitor's want of Reſpect, ordered that Errand-bringer of theirs to be driven away ignominiouſly; and one of the Conſuls Lictors, by their Directions, gave him ſome Baſtinadoes for his pains. This was enough to open the ſeditious Mouth of the Tribune, who only wanted a Pretence to inveigh againſt the Senate. He repreſented to the People, that in the Perſon of his Apparitor they had violated the ſacred Privileges of the Tribuneſhip; he cauſed the Conſuls Lictor to be ſeized, and was immediately for putting him to Death, as a Man guilty of Sacrilege, and devoted to the infernal Gods.

The

The Consuls, tho' the chief Magistrates of the Republic, cou'd not rescue him out of the Hands of those who were both his Adversaries and his Judges.

The Senate endeavoured to gain over some one of the Tribunes that might put a stop to this Fury of one of his Colleagues; but *Icilius* had been beforehand with them there, and had so warmly represented to all the Tribunes that the Power and Strength of their College lay wholly in their Union, that they agreed none shou'd oppose what was determined among them by plurality of Voices. Thus the poor Lictor saw himself just upon the point of losing his Life, for having obeyed the Orders of the Consuls too punctually. The Senate, to save him, were obliged to come to a Composition with the Tribunes. The Lictor was indeed set at Liberty; but Mount *Aventine* was yielded to the People by a *Senatusconsultum:* And this was what made a very great Breach in the Authority of the Consuls; for the Tribunes, after the Example of *Icilius*, kept themselves always afterwards in possession of this new Prerogative of convening the Senate; they who at their Institution durst not so much as go into it, but attended its Commands under a Portico like common Officers.

Enterprize of the Tribunes against the Consuls.

They did not stop here; *Icilius*, the boldest and most enterprizing of all the Tribunes, being continued in that Magistracy for the following Year, laid a Design to bring the Consuls themselves under their Subjection, and to oblige those chief Magistrates of the Republic, tho' invested with the Sovereign Power, to undergo the Judgment of the Assembly of the People.

Year of Rome 298.

T. Romilius and *C. Veturius*, who were Consuls this Year, finding the State was never more at rest at home than when her Arms were carried abroad, resolved to make War against the *Æqui* and

and *Sabines*, in revenge of their continual Inroads and Devaſtations. The Buſineſs was to raiſe Troops, and get the Legions to march out of *Rome*. The two Conſuls, but eſpecially *Romilius*, a Magiſtrate ſevere and haughty in his Nature, raiſed thoſe Troops and proceeded in the Inrollment of the *Plebeians*, with a Rigor very improper in the preſent Diſpoſition of the People's Minds. They admitted no manner of Excuſe, and condemned to heavy Fines all thoſe that did not appear immediately upon their being called. *Romilius* even cauſed ſeveral to be taken into Cuſtody, for trying upon different Pretences to get off from going to the War that Campaign. The Tribunes did not fail to take their Parts, and they endeavoured to reſcue thoſe Priſoners out of the Hands of the Lictors. The Conſuls advanced to ſupport the Execution of their Orders: The Tribunes enraged at their Reſiſtance and backed by the angry Populace, were ſo preſumptuous as to offer to ſeize the Conſuls themſelves, and to command the *Ædiles* to lead them to the public Priſons. This Attempt upon the Sovereign Magiſtrates of the Republic increaſes the Tumult; the *Patricians*, provoked at the Audaciouſneſs and Inſolence of theſe Tribunes, fly among the Crowd, ſtrike all without Diſtinction that oppoſe them, diſperſe the Aſſembly, and oblige the Tribunes to fly like the reſt, after having been ſoundly beaten. Theſe latter, confounded and enraged at the ill Succeſs of their Undertaking, convened the Aſſembly for the next Day, and took care to bring to it moſt of the *Plebeians* out of the Country. The Aſſembly was very numerous; the Tribunes, ſeeing themſelves the ſtrongeſt, cauſed the two Conſuls to be ſummoned like the meaneſt private Men; and the Apparitor cited them to come and anſwer before the Aſſembly of the People for what had happened

the Day before: The Consuls rejected the Citation with Scorn. Then the Tribunes, who flattered themselves the Senate wou'd oblige them, as they had done *Coriolanus* and *Ceso*, to acknowledge the Authority of the Assembly of the People, and submit to their Judgment, repaired to the Palace. Being introduced into the Senate, they demanded Justice for the Violence which they pretended to have been done them by the Consuls. They added, that in their Persons the sacred Laws of the Tribuneship had been violated; that they hoped the Senate wou'd never suffer so great a Crime to escape without Punishment; and that they expected in the first place either that the Consuls shou'd clear themselves by Oath from having had any hand in the last Tumult; or, if a just Remorse of Conscience hindered them from taking such an Oath, that they shou'd be condemned by a *Senatusconsultum* to appear before the Assembly of the People, and undergo their Judgment. *Romilius* answered them, and reproached them in a very high strain, that they themselves, by opposing the Levy of Soldiers, were the only Beginners of this Tumult; that they had carried their Audaciousness so far, as to go about to seize upon the Consuls, the sovereign Magistrates of the Republic; that even now they had the Insolence to threaten them in full Senate to make them submit to the Judgment of the People, when they had not Power to bring the very meanest of the *Patricians* before them without a *Senatusconsultum* on purpose. And he declared to them, that if they were so daring as to offer to proceed a step further in so unreasonable an Enterprize, he wou'd immediately put the whole Body of *Patricians* in Arms, march into the *Forum* at their Head, fall upon every body that appeared against him, and that perhaps he might make them repent their having abused the Senate's Patience in so gross a manner, and their

having given ſuch a Looſe to their unbounded Audaciouſneſs.

Theſe Diſputes held ſo long, that it grew Night before the Senate cou'd come to any Reſolution in this Affair; and moſt of the Senators were glad that theſe mutual Complaints and Reproaches had waſted the time of the Aſſembly, that they might not be obliged to decide the Conteſt between the Tribunes and Conſuls, and eſpecially that they might avoid giving the former, by a Refuſal, the Pretence they wanted to raiſe a new Sedition.

Thoſe Tribunes plainly perceiving that the Senate intended to draw the Buſineſs into length, convened the Aſſembly of the People next Day, and made their Report to them of what had paſſed in the Senate. They declared, that no Juſtice was to be expected from a Body in which their Enemies governed, and that they wou'd throw up the Tribuneſhip, if the People did not come to ſome vigorous Reſolution, which was ſo neceſſary for the Preſervation of their Dignity.

The moſt mutinous among the *Plebeians* were for retiring a ſecond time upon the *Mons Sacer* in Arms, and from thence to begin the War againſt the *Patricians*. Others, more moderate in appearance, but indeed reſtrained only by the fear of a Civil War, propoſed that without taking up Arms or ſolliciting a *Senatusconſultum* any longer, the People by their own proper Authority ſhou'd try the Conſuls, and condemn them to a large Fine. Laſtly, ſuch as had not entirely loſt the Reſpect that was due to the firſt Magiſtrates in the Republic, repreſented that it was a thing unheard of, for an Aſſembly of the People to pretend to try two Conſuls in the very Year of their Conſulate, and eſpecially without the Participation of the Senate. That ſuch a Step ſeemed to them very bold; that they did not doubt it wou'd

ſtir up freſh Tumults, which at length might produce a Civil War. That the Succeſs of that was uncertain; that it was even to be feared if the *Patricians* got the better, they wou'd utterly deſtroy the Peoples Authority, to be revenged of thoſe who had gone about to carry it too far. That therefore they were for deferring all further Proceeding againſt the Conſuls, till they were out of their Office; and that in the mean while they might proſecute only ſuch private Perſons as had ſhewn moſt Zeal for their Intereſts.

Of theſe three different Opinions, the Tribunes ſtuck to the ſecond, which they thought the ſafeſt and moſt ready way to ſatisfy their Reſentment, and they appointed an Aſſembly, wherein the People at their Suit ſhou'd condemn the Conſuls in a Fine. But the Tribunes perceiving after the Peoples firſt Heat was over, that they ſhew'd leſs Eagerneſs to carry a Point which they thought concerned only thoſe Magiſtrates, they reſolved, in order to make the more ſure of their Revenge, to defer it, and even to cloath it with the old Pretence of the People's Good, without making the leaſt mention of their Difference with the Conſuls. Thus the Day ſet for the Aſſembly being come, *Icilius*, who ſpoke for the reſt of his Colleagues, declared that the College of Tribunes, at the Intreaty and for the ſakes of the beſt Men in the Senate, dropt their Suit againſt the Conſuls; but that tho' they gave up their own Intereſts, they were not capable of neglecting thoſe of the People. That therefore they demanded, that a Body of Laws ſhou'd be drawn up and made public; that the Buſineſs of the Partition of the Lands ſhou'd next be proceeded to; that it was high time to paſs ſo equitable a Law, which had been long propoſed, but always kept off by the Artifices of the *Patricians*. At the ſame time he exhorted ſuch *Plebeians* as

Icilius *revives the* Trentillian *Project.*

were

were perſonally intereſted in this Affair, to ſpeak their Minds freely to the Aſſembly.

Upon this a *Plebeian* named *L. Siccius* or *Sicinus Dentatus* aſcended the *Roſtrum*. He was an Old Man of a handſome Aſpect, tho' near threeſcore Years of Age; and with a Soldier's Eloquence he ſpoke glorioufly of his own Valour, and of all the Actions in which he had ſignalized himſelf. He firſt repreſented, that it was full forty Years that he had bore Arms; that he had been in a hundred and twenty Engagements; that he had received five and forty Wounds, and all before; that in one ſingle Battel he had been wounded in twelve ſeveral Places; that he had obtained fourteen Civic Crowns, for having ſaved the Lives of ſo many Citizens in Battel; that he had received three Mural Crowns, for having firſt mounted the Breach in Towns taken by Storm; that his Generals had given him eight other Crowns, for having reſcued the Standards of the Legions out of the Hands of the Enemies; that he had to ſhew in his Houſe fourſcore Collars of Gold, above threeſcore Bracelets, gilded Javelins, gorgeous Armours, and Furnitures of Horſes, as the Teſtimonies and Rewards of the Victories he had gained in ſingle Combats in the View of the two Armies. That nevertheleſs no manner of Regard had ever been had to all theſe honourable Marks of his Services, and that neither he, nor Numbers of other brave Soldiers, who with the Loſs of their Blood had won for the Republic the better part of her Territory, poſſeſſed the leaſt Portion of it: That their Conqueſts were fallen a Prey to ſome few *Patricians*, whoſe only Merit was the Nobility of their Deſcent, and the Recommendation of their Names. That not one of them cou'd juſtify his Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands by any lawful Title; unleſs they looked upon the Domain of

Siccius's *Speech.*

the State to be their Patrimony, and the *Plebeians* to be vile Slaves, unworthy of having any Share in the Fortune of the Commonwealth. But that it was time for that generous People to do themselves Justice, and that they ought to shew immediately, by passing the Law for the Partition of the Lands without delay, that they had no less Resolution to stand by the Proposals of their Tribunes, than they had shewn Courage in the Field against the Enemies of the State.

Varro de Lingua. D.H. l.10.

Icilius gave great Commendations to the Pronouncer of this Discourse. But as he affected to appear a strict Observer of the Laws, he told him, they cou'd not with Justice refuse to hear what the *Patricians* shou'd please to alledge against the Law, and so adjourned the Assembly to the Day following.

The two Consuls during great part of the Night held private Conferences with the chief Men of the Senate, to consider what Measures were most proper to be taken to frustrate the Designs of the Tribune. After various Counsels, it was resolved to employ first the most insinuating Manners, and the whole Art of Eloquence to win upon the People, and dissuade them from the Publication of the Law: But that if, by the Instigation of their Tribunes, they continued obstinately resolute to give their Voices for it, they shou'd oppose it with a high hand, and even make use of Extremities. Word was sent to all the *Patricians* to be at the *Forum* very early with their Friends and Clients; that part of them shou'd surround the *Rostrum* to prevent the Tribunes from being the strongest about it, and that the rest of the Nobility shou'd disperse themselves among the Assembly in small Parties, to oppose the Distribution of the Tablets.

The *Patricians* did not fail to be in the *Forum* very early, and took Possession of all the Posts agreed

greed upon. The Conſuls being come, the Tribunes cauſed Proclamation to be made by a Herald, that if any Citizen had any ſolid Reaſons to offer againſt the Publication of the Law, he might aſcend the *Roſtrum* and lay them before the People. Divers Senators preſented themſelves one after another; but the Moment they began to ſpeak, an inſolent Pack of ſcoundrel People, ſuborned by the Tribunes, ſet up ſuch confuſed Clamours, that it was impoſſible to hear what they ſaid. The Conſuls, full of Indignation at this Inſolence, proteſted warmly againſt all that ſhou'd be done in ſo tumultuous an Aſſembly. Then the Tribunes, throwing aſide the Mask, told them confidently, that their Proteſt ſhou'd not hinder the Promulgation of the Law; that the People had already been too long amuſed with vain Speeches, whoſe affected Prolixity was only intended to ſtave off the Deciſion of this Affair, and that therefore the Voices of the Aſſembly muſt now bring it to ſome Iſſue: And thereupon *Icilius* commanded the Urns to be opened, and the Tablets to be deliver'd out to the People. The Officers making ready to execute his Orders, ſeveral young *Patricians* of the beſt Families in the Republic, taking this Command as the Signal which they had privately agreed upon, took away the Urns, and ſcatter'd about the Billets. Others, at the Head of their Friends and Clients, throw themſelves into the Crowd, puſh, ſtrike and diſperſe the People, and at length remain Maſters of the *Forum*. The Tribunes, exaſperated to the higheſt Pitch to ſee their Meaſures thus diſconcerted, retired laſt of all; but they convened the Aſſembly again for the next Day; and after having complained that the Majeſty of the *Roman* People ſhou'd be thus openly violated, they demanded Permiſſion to enquire after the Authors

Tumult on occaſion of the Lex Terentilla.

of this Tumult, which was immediately granted them.

Senators sacrificed to the Hatred of the Tribunes.

They did not want for Witneſſes who depoſed unanimouſly, that the Diſorder was raiſed by moſt of the young *Patricians*. But as their great Number ſerved them in a manner for an *Aſylum*, and it was impoſſible to include in the Indictment all the *Patricians* in the Republic, the Tribunes, who only wanted to ſacrifice ſuch Victims to their Reſentment as might intimidate the Senate, turned the whole Accuſation upon thoſe who were of the *Poſthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* Families. They were cited to appear before the next Aſſembly of the People. But tho' theſe young *Patricians* valued themſelves upon having hindered the Law from being paſſed, the Senate did not care to let them appear, nor that any Body ſhould undertake their Defence. The wiſeſt Senators flattered themſelves, that by giving them up to the People, this Moderation would diminiſh their Reſentment, or that having given a Vent to their Fury by condemning of them, this Revenge wou'd put the Proſecution of the Law out of their Heads. Mean while the Day of the Aſſembly being come, the more violent Spirits among the People were for enquiring into this Affair with the utmoſt Severity; but the more prudent ſort, who looked upon this Silence of the *Patricians* as a tacit Acknowledgment of the Fault of the Perſons accuſed, being ſatisfied that they were left to the Peoples Judgment, were only for condemning them to a Fine, which was agreed to by Plurality of Voices. The Senate did not oppoſe it; they even ſuffered the Effects of the Criminals to be ſold publickly to pay it, and the Produce was conſecrated to *Ceres*. But the Senate cauſed thoſe Effects to be bought again

D.H. l. 10. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

again by private Hands with Their Money. They were ſome time afterwards reſtored to the former Proprietors; and the Senate was not diſpleaſed at having ſtopt the Publication of the Law, only with the Expence of a little Money. But the Tribunes were not ſo eaſily blinded. They ſoon fell again upon the Diviſion of the Lands. It was the common Subject of their Harangues.

Tuſculum *attack'd and relieved.*

While the People ſpent whole Days in the *Forum* liſtening to thoſe Declaimers, there arrived Expreſſes from *Tuſculum*, with Advice, that the *Æqui* were fallen upon the Territory of that City, which was allied to the *Roman* People; that they laid waſte the whole Country with Fire and Sword; that it was even to be feared they wou'd carry that Town, if they laid Siege to it: and the Inhabitants begg'd for Succour with the greateſt Earneſtneſs. The Senate immediately decreed, that the Conſuls ſhou'd take the Field with the Forces of the Republic. The Tribunes failed not to oppoſe it, according to their old Cuſtom, and wou'd fain have had their Conſent bought by the Publication of the Law. But the People, more generous than their Magiſtrates, remembring the Aſſiſtance they had received from *Tuſculum* againſt *Herdonius*'s Invaſion, heartily offered to take Arms. An Army was raiſed out of hand; the two Conſuls put themſelves at the Head of it. *Siccius Dentatus*, the *Plebeian* that had ſpoke ſo zealouſly in favour of the *Agrarian* Law, appeared under their Standard with eight hundred Veterans like himſelf, who had all compleated the time of Service preſcribed by Law, but yet wou'd go once more to the War under the particular Command of *Siccius*, whom they loudly named the *Roman Achilles*.

Their

Their Army advanced to *Algidum*, ſixteen Miles from *Rome*, and met the Enemy not far from the City of *Antium*. They were intrenched upon the Top of a Hill. The *Romans* incamped upon an Eminence over againſt them; they fortified themſelves carefully, and the Generals kept the Soldiers within the Camp, to conceal their Force from the Enemy. The *Æqui* took theſe Precautions for a Sign of Fear in the Conſuls. They often deſcended into the Plain, and came ſometimes to the very Edge of the Intrenchments of the Camp, whence they upbraided the *Romans* with the Faint-heartedneſs of their Generals. The two Conſuls, to confirm the Enemy in this falſe Confidence, ſtill kept the Gates of the Camp ſhut. But one Day when *Romilius* commanded in chief, and had the ſole Power of giving Orders; that Conſul perceiving that the whole Army of the *Æqui* was gone out of their Camp, and that moſt of the Soldiers ſcattering up and down the Country, were foraging in Security quite to the very foot of his Intrenchments, he reſolved to charge them in the Plain, and at the ſame time to fall upon the Camp they had upon the Hill, that they might not know on which ſide the true Attack was. For this purpoſe he ſent for *Siccius Dentatus*, who commanded the Body of Veterans mentioned above; and either out of Eſteem for his Valour, or with deſign to expoſe that *Plebeian* in a very dangerous Action, he gave him the Charge of attacking the Enemy's Camp. 'My Colleague 'and I, ſaid he to him, intend to march againſt 'the Enemy. While we draw all their Forces 'to this ſide, do you throw yourſelf with the 'Body under your Command into the narrow By-'way in the Mountain which leads to their Camp. 'Puſh on quite to their Intrenchments, and try 'to make yourſelf Maſter of them. By attack-'ing them in different Places at the ſame time,

Victory over the Æqui; Siccius's Valour.

D.H. l. 10.

'we

'we ſhall make a beneficial Diverſion, and by di-
'viding our Enemy's Forces, weaken their De-
'fence.' *Siccius* told him he was ready to obey his Orders implicitly: 'But give me leave, ſays he,
'to repreſent to you that the Execution of them
'ſeems impoſſible, and extreamly dangerous at the
'ſame time. Do you believe, continued that old
'Officer, that the Enemy, when they left their
'Camp and came down from the Hill, did not
'ſecure with a good Body of Infantry, the only
'Paſſage that can facilitate their Retreat? Can I
'force ſuch a Poſt with the Veterans only, with-
'out being ſupported by greater Forces? Such
'an Enterprize is only likely to cut us all off. Is
'it poſſible eight hundred Men ſhould withſtand
'the Enemy's whole Army, which will fall upon
'our Rear at the ſame time that we have thoſe
'who guard the Way through the Mountain in
'our Front.

The Conſul, angered at *Siccius*'s Remonſtrance, replyed abruptly, that without pretending to act the General, his Buſineſs was only to obey his Orders: Or if he thought there was too much Danger in it, he wou'd employ ſome other Officer, who without ſetting up for a Director, wou'd bring the Undertaking to a glorious Iſſue. 'And
'you, mighty Captain, added the Conſul with a
'jeering Scorn, you that have followed the Wars
'forty Years, that have been in ſixſcore Battels,
'and whoſe whole Body is covered over with
'Wounds, return to *Rome* without having dared
'to face the Enemy, and carry back to the *Fo-*
'*rum* that eloquent Tongue which is more for-
'midable to your Fellow-Citizens, than your
'Sword is to the *Æqui* and the Enemies of your
'Country.

The Officer, enraged at the General's Reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old Soldier or ſhame him;

him; but that one was much eaſier to do than t'other; that he wou'd march up to the Enemy's Camp, and win it, or fall in the Attempt with all his Comrades. Thoſe Veterans then took their leaves of the reſt of the Soldiers, who looked after them as upon Men ſent to the Slaughter: Happily for them they were under the Conduct of an old Officer that underſtood his Trade. *Siccius* went round about a tedious way, and after a long March deſcried afar off, and upon the neighbouring Mountains, a great Wood that ſeemed to ſtretch quite to the Enemy's Camp. He was immediately reſolved to gain it: 'Cheer up, my 'Lads, cried he, making his way up to it, either 'I am much miſtaken, or I perceive a Path that 'will lead us much more ſafely to the Enemy's 'Camp, than that which our General directed 'me.' It was not without difficulty that thoſe old Soldiers, cumber'd with their Arms, got to the top of that Hill. But they were no ſooner there, but they found that they were upon a Height which commanded the Enemy's Camp, and they drew near to it under the Concealment of the Wood, without being perceived by the Centinels and advanced Guards.

During this March the two Armies of the *Romans* and the *Æqui* were come to an Engagement in the Plain. They fought a great while with equal Valour, and Victory had yet declared for neither Side. Moſt of the Soldiers that the *Æqui* had left for the Guard of their Camp, not apprehending any Danger from behind, were got to the top of the Hill to ſee the Battel. While they were ſcattered about for the more eaſy Enjoyment of ſo great a Sight, *Siccius*, who had view'd them carefully, took Advantage of this their Negligence. He falls upon the Camp, ſurprizes the Guard, cuts in pieces all that withſtand him, takes the reſt Priſoners; and having poſted ſome Soldiers to guard the

the Camp, he next throws himſelf upon thoſe that were looking upon the Fight at their eaſe, and ſoon maſters them. Some who being at a Diſtance had time to fly, ran immediately and got Poſſeſſion of the hollow Road that led into the Plain, and where the *Æqui* had left ſome Cohorts to ſecure their Retreat, as *Siccius* foreſaw they wou'd. The *Roman* Officer, who purſued them briskly, is There almoſt as ſoon as they, puſhes them hard, and drives them in confuſion among that Body of Troops. All take to flight; the Soldier terrified does not perceive what a ſmall Number he has to deal with; Fear makes them ſeem double in his Eyes; he runs for Safety into the main Body of the Army, and carries Fear and Confuſion thither along with him: *Siccius* follows cloſe, and adds to it. The *Æqui* ſeeing themſelves attacked in their Rear, give ground. After this it was not ſo much a Battel as a general Rout. Some try to regain the Hill; others diſperſe different ways over the Plain, and where-ever they turn themſelves they meet the Enemy and Death. Moſt of them were cut to pieces; and none were ſaved but ſuch as the *Romans* thought fit to make Priſoners, or that eſcaped by favour of the Night, which came on during the Engagement.

Siccius's Revenge.

While the Conſuls were finiſhing their Victory and purſuing thoſe that fled, *Siccius*, full of Reſentment againſt the Generals, forms a Deſign to deprive them of the Fruits and Honours of the Victory. He aſcends the Enemy's Camp once more with none but his own Troop; cuts the Throats of the Priſoners; kills the Horſes; ſets fire to the Tents, the Arms, and all the Baggage, and leaves none of thoſe Marks of Victory which were required from a General when he demanded the Triumph. He then marches away with extream Diligence, arrives at *Rome* with his Cohort, and gives an Account to the Tribunes of what had paſſed.

passed. The People seeing those old Men alone, and yet covered with the Blood of their Enemies, flock about them, and enquire News of the Army. *Siccius* tells them of the Victory they had gained over the *Æqui*, and at the same time complains of the Inhumanity of the Consuls, who, he said, without Necessity, and only to satisfy their Hatred to the *Plebeians*, had exposed eight hundred Veterans to Death, in all likelihood, unavoidable. He then related by what good Fortune they had escaped the Snares which the Consuls had laid for them. 'Nevertheless, added he, we 'took the Enemy's Camp, and cut to pieces those 'that guarded it. Then we made our selves Ma-'sters of the Straits in the Mountain; we drove 'the *Æqui* out of them, and by our Valour paved 'the way for the Victory of the Consuls. The 'only Recompence we desire is, that the Honours 'of Triumph may not be allowed to Generals 'who have made use of their Authority only to 'destroy their own Fellow-Citizens without a 'Cause.

The Honour of a Triumph refus'd to the Consuls.

The People, who already were but very ill inclined to the *Patricians*, promised they wou'd never consent that the Consuls shou'd have a Triumph. The Soldiers of those Generals, at their Return, entered into this Cabal, in Revenge that the two Consuls had deprived them of the Booty, which they had sold for the Benefit of the public Treasury, under pretence that it was exhausted. The Consuls, to obtain the Honour of the Triumph, represented in vain, that they had won a compleat Victory, cut the Enemy's Army to pieces, and taken seven thousand Prisoners. The People, prejudiced against them with the belief that they had endeavoured to destroy the Veterans, obstinately refused to let them return public Thanks to the Gods for their Victory, or enter the City with the Ornaments of the Triumph.

Liv. l. 5.

The

The Senate, whether out of a Principle of Equity, or whether for fear of ſome new Commotion, did not think proper to make themſelves Parties in this Affair; and the People, who looked upon this Affront as a Victory over the whole Order of *Patricians*, did in the next *Comitia* beſtow the Quality of Tribune upon *Siccius*.

The Conſuls accuſed and condemn'd.

The two Conſuls were no ſooner out of their Office, but they were cited before the Aſſembly of the People in the Conſulate of their Succeſſors *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternius*. This was the general Fate of thoſe Sovereign Magiſtrates. The Accuſation ran upon the Buſineſs of *Siccius*; but their real Crime was the conſtant Oppoſition they had both made to the Promulgation of the *Agrarian* Law. The People fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thouſand *Aſſes*, and *Veturius* in fifteen thouſand. Hiſtory does not inform us of the Reaſon of the Difference which the People made in their Fines: It was perhaps becauſe *Veturius* had the greateſt hand in the ill Treatment of *Icilius*'s Apparitor. What confirms this Conjecture is, that at the ſame time a Law was made, with the Conſent of all the Orders of the State, that any Magiſtrate ſhou'd have Power to lay a Fine upon ſuch as ſhou'd be wanting of Reſpect to his Dignity: A Prerogative reſerved before to the Conſuls only. But to prevent any particular Magiſtrate from abuſing and ſtretching this new Authority, it was provided by the ſame Law, that the higheſt Fine for ſuch Crimes ſhou'd never for the future exceed the Value of two Oxen or thirty Sheep; Copper Coins ſo call'd for their Impreſſion, and ſtruck in the Reign of *Servius Tullius* the ſixth King of *Rome*.

Year of Rome 299. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 2. Plin. l. 7. c. 28.

D.H. l. 10. ſub fin.

End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

That happened in the GOVERNMENT

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK V.

Ambaſſadors are ſent to Athens *to collect the Laws of* Solon. *Upon their return, the Adminiſtration of the Government is intruſted with ten Commiſſioners or* Decemvirs *choſen from among the* Patricians. Appius, *Head of the College of Decemvirs, becomes ſuſpected by his Colleagues. To hinder him from being continu'd in the Decemvirate, they declare him Preſident of the Aſſembly that was to make a ſecond Election. But he names himſelf for the firſt Decemvir, and the People*

People confirm that Nomination. These new Magiſtrates are for making themſelves perpetual. Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the prime Senators, they obtain for themſelves the Command of the Armies againſt the Æqui *and the* Sabines. *The* Romans *decline Conqueſt, for fear of augmenting their Power. The Severity of their Government, their Pride, Injuſtice, but above all the Paſſion of* Appius *for* Virginia, *cauſe their Ruin.* Virginius, *Father of that unfortunate Maid, being reduc'd to the ſad Neceſſity of ſtabbing her with his own Hands, to ſecure her from the Brutality of that Decemvir, the Soldiers mutiny and return to* Rome, *where they obtain the Suppreſſion of the Decemvirate, and the Puniſhment of the Decemvirs. Conſuls and Tribunes are once more reviv'd, and the People reſtor'd to all their Privileges.*

Recapitulation of the firſt Volume.

WE have ſeen, in the preceding Sheets, *Rome*, jealous of her Liberty, ſhake off her Kings; Monarchic Government turn'd into Republican under two Conſuls; the Nobility and Populace of that Infant Republic, thro' the ſame Love of Liberty, diſunited and ready to part; the Tribuneſhip, which had been ſet up purely as a Pledge of their Re-union, become the Foundation of new Diſſentions; and thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, perpetual Makebates, purſuing and hunting down the brighteſt and moſt deſerving Senators, and eſpecially eager after the Ruin of the Conſuls as ſoon as ever their Time was expir'd; inſomuch that a Conſular was to look upon himſelf as a Sacrifice of the People, and the Object of the Tribunes Fury. Such was the State of *Rome*, where it was then criminal in the ſupreme Magiſtrates to govern according to the ancient Laws. Yet the Misfortune that befel *Romilius* and *Veturius*

rius before-mention'd, frighted not their Succeſſors: *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Haterius* expreſs'd never a whit the leſs Courage. Thoſe gallant Conſuls declar'd undauntedly to the People, that they might fine 'em as much as they pleas'd, or inflict yet more unjuſt Puniſhments upon 'em, when their Time was up; but that neither ſuch Vexations, nor even the Loſs of their Lives, ſhou'd ever oblige them to conſent to the Publication of the *Agrarian* Law. So much Reſolution, together with the Unanimity of the Senate, ſtartled the Tribunes. Both Parties, equally tir'd with thoſe continual Bickerings, look'd as if they were going to be reconcil'd. Not a word was heard about the Partition of the Lands, for ſome time. All Heart-burnings ſeem'd to be quite over, or at leaſt ſuſpended. But the Populace, ever reſtleſs, only chang'd their View and Object: They return'd to the *Terentillian* Law, and requir'd of the Senate, that inſtead of thoſe arbitrary Judgments given by the Magiſtrates, a Body of Laws ſhou'd at laſt be eſtabliſh'd and made public, as well for the Guidance of thoſe at the Helm of Affairs, as for the regulating the Conteſts that daily aroſe between private Perſons.

The People demand a Body of Laws.

The Senators were not againſt this Propoſal: but when the Legiſlators were to be named, they wou'd admit of none to be choſen but their own Members; the People, on the contrary, inſiſted, that as their Intereſt was equally concern'd in an Affair of that Importance, ſo they ought by their Repreſentatives to have a Share in ſo honourable an Employ. Accordingly they deputed the Tribune *Siccius* and his Colleagues to go to the Senate and maintain their Claim. The Affair was debated with much Heat, and the Senators were divided in their Opinions. But nothing was ſo ſurprizing as the Conduct of *Romilius*, that Conſular

ſular whom the People had but a little before condemned in a heavy Fine. Inſtead of oppoſing the Peoples Pretenſions, as was expected, he declar'd that without going about to frame new Laws, 'twas his Opinion they need only diſpatch away Deputies to *Athens*, there to compile ſuch of the Laws of SOLON as were known to be moſt popular among the *Greeks*; that thoſe Deputies ſhou'd take care at the ſame time to make themſelves acquainted with the Form of Government in the reſpective Cities and States of that Country; and when they were come back, Commiſſioners ſhou'd be appointed to make choice of ſuch Laws as ſhou'd appear to be moſt ſuitable to the preſent Conſtitution of the *Roman* Republic: 'And may 'the Gods grant, added he, that thoſe Commiſ-'ſioners propoſe to us Laws equally favourable to 'the Liberty of the People, and the Authority of 'the Senate.

Deputies ſent to Athens.

This Advice was equally well received by both Parties. The Senate, whoſe Right of naming thoſe Ambaſſadors no body diſputed, was fully ſatisfied that thoſe whom they ſhou'd pitch upon to make this Collection, wou'd bring home nothing contrary to their Intereſts. And the Tribunes, ſeduced with the Hopes of ſeeing the Government of *Rome* reformed by the Model of a Commonwealth in which the whole Authority lay in the Aſſembly of the People, beſtowed the higheſt Praiſes on *Romilius*. *Siccius* himſelf, tho' his Enemy, declared that in the Name of the People he forgave him the Fine which he had been condemned to pay. But *Romilius* generouſly rejected this Favour from the Hand of an Enemy. He openly declared, that he deſired no other Recompence but Power always to ſpeak his Opinion with the Liberty that became a *Roman* Senator: And that as to the Fine which had been laid upon him, being a thing conſecrated to *Ceres*, he ſhou'd

think it Sacrilege not to pay it. The *Senatus-consultum* was then drawn and confirmed by the unanimous Voice of the People; and in pursuance thereof, the Senate sent as Ambassadors to *Athens*, *Sp. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpitius Camerinus*, with Directions to gather the Laws and Customs of that City, and of the other Republics of *Greece*. During the rest of that Year the State was pretty quiet. But the next Year, in the Consulate of *P. Curatius* and *Sextus Quintilius*, almost all *Italy* was afflicted with a Plague. The Consul *Quintilius*, four Tribunes of the People, and great Numbers of Citizens of all Conditions, died of it. The People dispersed themselves on all sides to avoid it. *Rome* in this general Desolation became a Desart, and some Surprize was to be feared from the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and the *Sabines*. But the Contagion raged among them too with the same Fury; a Calamity that was general served instead of Strength and Defence to the Republic.

Rome *Year of* 300.

Year of Rome 301. *Ambassadors return.*

The next Year began with happier Auspices. The Plague ceased in the Consulate of *P. Sestius Capitolinus* and *T. Menenius*, and the Ambassadors returned that had been sent to collect the Laws of *Greece*. The Tribunes of the People presently made warm Instances to the Consuls for the Election of the Commissioners or Decemvirs, that were to be employed in the great Work of fixing a Body of Laws for the Government of the Commonwealth. *Sestius* was not against it in the least; but *Menenius*, who looked upon all Changes in a State to be pernicious, and who perhaps had not forgot the Injuries his Father had received from the Tribunes, put off the Election as much as he cou'd. He at first excused himself upon account of the Necessity there was of chusing first the Consuls for next Year. He said, that this great Affair being to be settled under their Consulate, nothing

Liv. l. 3. D.H. l. 10. *Decemvirs demanded, and refus'd.*

nothing ought to be done in it, till they were appointed, nay, and not without their Participation; but this was only a Pretence: he flattered himſelf that the Election of the Conſuls wou'd ſuſpend that of the Decemvirs, or at leaſt, that the Difference which might happen between them wou'd weaken the Authority of thoſe new Magiſtrates. The Impatience of the Tribunes haſtened on the *Comitia*. APPIUS CLAUDIUS was choſen firſt Conſul. This was the third from Father to Son in the *Claudian* Family that had been raiſed to that Dignity. All the *Patricians* gave him their Voices, in hopes he wou'd be no leſs zealous for the Power of the Senate than his Anceſtors. *T. Genutius* was named for his Colleague. The Tribunes, after this Election was over, renewed their Purſuit and Sollicitations to the Conſuls then in Office, to oblige them to proceed to the Nomination of the Decemvirs. *Menenius*, who made nothing but dreadful Predictions of the Innovations to be brought in, confined himſelf to his Houſe under pretence of Sickneſs, and choſe rather not to ſtir out of it, than be forced, if he went to the Senate, to propoſe there the Buſineſs of the new Laws. *Seſtius*, on his part, tho' more favourable to the Tribunes, did not think it wou'd be decent for him to take upon him the Direction of ſo great an Affair, without the Preſence and Agreement of his Colleague. The Tribunes, who were very jealous of all theſe Delays, applied to *Appius* and his Colleague, the Conſuls Elect for the enſuing Year. They found Means to bring them into their Intereſts, in all likelihood by giving them Hopes of having the greateſt Share in the Commiſſion for the creating of the Laws. After having made ſure of thoſe two Senators, whoſe Election for the enſuing Conſulate gave them a greater Authority, they introduced them into an Aſſembly of the People, which they had convened on purpoſe, to take

Appius Claudius *Conſul.*

Appius *makes a Speech in favour of the People.*

measures againſt the ſtudied Put-offs of the Conſuls then in Poſt. Appius mounting the *Roſtrum*, ſpoke ſo artfully, that without declaring againſt the Senate he won the Hearts of the People. The chief Heads of his Diſcourſe turned upon the Juſtice of eſtabliſhing equitable Laws among all the Citizens, to the intent that *Rome*, ſo long ſplit into two Parties, and in a manner into two different Cities, might for the future make but one Commonwealth. He added, that he was convinced the Nomination of the Decemvirs ought not to be deferred any longer; that the Propoſal ought to be made to the Senate forthwith; and that if his Election to the Conſulate and that of his Colleague were any manner of hindrance to the Appointment and Authority of the Decemvirs, they were ready to forego it, and declared that they actually did ſo, and they wou'd gladly ſacrifice even their Lives to procure ſo great a Benefit to their Country, as Peace and Union among their Fellow-Citizens.

This Diſcourſe was looked upon by the greateſt Part of the Aſſembly to be that of a true Republican, that ſincerely loved his Country's Liberty. The People eſpecially, who expected nothing like this from a *Patrician* of the *Claudian* Family, heard him with no leſs Pleaſure than Surprize. Some Senators on the contrary, who knew the proud ambitious Diſpoſition of Appius, very much feared that under this ſeeming Moderation and diſintereſted Outſide, he concealed Deſigns of a very different nature. But as this, after all, was mere Suſpicion, the *Patricians* as well as the *Plebeians* gave great Praiſes to the Abdication he ſo freely made of his Title to the Conſulate. The next Work was to bring the Affair before the Senate. *Menenius*, truſting to the Engagements he had privately enter'd into with his Colleague, ſtill feigned to be ſick, in order to avoid convening

that

that Body; but *Seſtius*, won over probably by a Promiſe of being included in the Number of *Decemvirs*, broke his word with him. He aſſembled the Senate, and propoſed the Nomination of the Decemvirs. The Opinions were divided, as uſual; ſome Senators, fond of the old Cuſtoms, were averſe to all Changes in the Government of the State, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. But *Appius*, who had a ſtrong Party in the Society, maintained on the contrary, that there was great Juſtice in eſtabliſhing with the People's Conſent, Laws that might be conſtant Rules for the future to direct the Judgments of the Magiſtrates. And this at laſt was carried by Plurality of Voices. It was reſolved to proceed forthwith to the Nomination of the Decemvirs, but this created a new Difficulty. The Tribunes of the People demanded in their Name, that five *Plebeians* ſhou'd be let into that Commiſſion. All the Senators unanimouſly oppoſed this Pretenſion. They repreſented, that as the Decemvirs were to take the Place and the Authority of the Conſuls, it was a thing unheard-of, that common *Plebeians*, who were by their very Birth excluded from all *Curule* Magiſtracies, ſhould be inveſted with the Sovereign Power. The Tribunes found plainly that the Senate wou'd never give up this Point. After many Reaſons offered on both Sides, they at length deſiſted from their Demand, for fear the Nomination of the Decemvirs ſhou'd be dropp'd entirely; and ſo it was agreed that they ſhou'd all be choſen out of the Body of the Senate; that thoſe Commiſſioners ſhou'd for one whole Year be inveſted with the Sovereign Power, without any Appeal from their Judgments and Decrees; that during the ſaid Space of time there ſhou'd be neither Conſuls nor Tribunes; that the Authority and Functions of all the other Magiſtrates ſhou'd be ſuſpended during their Adminiſtration; that they

Decemvirs created.

they ſhou'd draw up a Body of Laws extracted from thoſe of *Greece*, and from the ancient Uſages of *Rome*; and that after they had been communicated to the Senate and People, and had received their Confirmation, they ſhou'd always for the future be ſtrictly obſerved in the Government of the State, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

Some time afterwards, a ſolemn Aſſembly was held of the whole *Roman* People convened by Centuries. This Aſſembly was preceded by Auſpices, and the other Ceremonies of Religion; they went then upon the Election of the Decemvirs. APPIUS CLAUDIUS and *T. Genutius* were appointed firſt; and it was thought they deſerved this honourable Preference for the generous Abdication they had made of the Conſulſhip. The Votes fell next upon *L. Seſtius*, *Veturius*, *C. Julius*, *A. Manlius*, *S. Sulpitius*, *P. Curatius*, *T. Romilius*, *Sp. Poſthumius*, all Conſular Perſons. The Senate hoped they had made choice of the moſt zealous Defenders of their Prerogatives; but moſt of them, to attain this Dignity, had enter'd into private Engagements with the Tribunes of the People. Thus each Party looked upon this Election as their own particular Work, and concurr'd jointly in it, tho' with Views widely different. Tho' APPIUS was the firſt, and in a manner the Head of the College of Decemvirs, yet he lived with his Colleagues in a perfect Equality and good Underſtanding. He eſpecially affected the moſt popular Behaviour; he ſaluted the meaneſt *Plebeian* that he met in his way; he took upon himſelf the Care of their Affairs and Intereſts, and procured them ſpeedy Juſtice. Each Decemvir preſided in his turn one whole Day. He had then the twelve Lictors, who walked before him with the Faſces. They ſucceſſively diſpenſed Juſtice in the *Forum*, which they did with ſo much Equity, that the People, charmed

Year of Rome, 302.

Their Moderation.

charmed with their Conduct, ſeemed to have forgot their Tribunes. Moſt of 'em pray'd to the Gods for the Continuance of a Government ſo full of Moderation; nay, there were many *Plebeians* who declared, that inſtead of reſtoring the Conſulſhip and Tribunate, the beſt thing they cou'd do, wou'd be to find Ways to make the Decemvirate perpetual. The Decemvirs laboured with great Application that whole Year upon the Compilation of the Laws, which they gathered partly from the ancient Decrees of the Kings of *Rome*, and partly from the Laws of *Greece*, which one *Hermodorus* of *Epheſus*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, interpreted to them. When their Work was compleated, they propoſed it in ten Tables, of which only a few Fragments are come down to us. Some relate to the Concerns of Religion, others to the Public Right, and the greater part to private Perſons. Theſe Tables were affixed up in Public, that every Man might read them, make his Reflections upon them, and communicate them to the Decemvirs, before they received the Force of Laws. They were then carried before the Senate, where they were examined and agreed to by Plurality of Voices; and it was decreed by a *Senatusconſultum* that the *Comitia* of Centuries ſhou'd immediately be called to have them ratified by the whole *Roman* People.

The Laws compiled.

Plin. l. 34. c. 5.

Cicer. de leg. l. 2. & 3.

The Day of the Aſſembly being come, the Auſpices were ſolemnly taken, and the Laws read over again in preſence of the Miniſters of Religion. The Decemvirs repreſented to the People with great Modeſty, that they did not know they had omitted any thing which ſeemed neceſſary for the Preſervation of Liberty, and the Eſtabliſhment of that Equality which was ſo neceſſary in a Republic. That however they wou'd have their Fellow-Citizens examine their Performance carefully, and declare freely what they con-

conceived ought to be retrenched or added; to the intent that for the future the People might live under Laws which they themſelves might be ſaid to have Made rather than Approved. A Diſcourſe ſo modeſt and candid, had no other Anſwer but the higheſt Praiſes. The Laws contained in the ten Tables were received with the Conſent of all the Centuries. There were only ſome few particular Perſons who were of Opinion that ſeveral Regulations were wanting which might make two other Tables, and that if they were added to the former ten, they ſhou'd then have a compleat Body of the whole *Roman* Law. This Defect created a Deſire to make another Election of Decemvirs for one Year more. The Senate and the People equally approved of this Deſign, tho' for different Ends. The People only wanted to keep back the Reſtoration of the Conſular Authority, which they were jealous of; and the Senate on their Parts were glad to be freed of the Tribunes, who were ſo odious to them.

The Decemvirate continues.

The Aſſembly being agreed, the Day was appointed for proceeding to a new Election of *Decemvirs*. During the Interval before the *Comitia*, the Senate fell into Diviſions about that Dignity. Some aſpired to it out of Ambition; others, who at firſt had been the greateſt Sticklers againſt its Eſtabliſhment, courted it then, but only in order to exclude thoſe whoſe Conduct and Deſigns they ſuſpected. APPIUS pretended not to deſire it at all; and to induce his Colleagues to renounce it, he declared publickly, that having fully performed the Duty of good Citizens by the aſſiduous Labour of a whole Year, it was now juſt to grant them ſome Repoſe, by appointing others to ſucceed them.

Appius's *Ambition and Diſſimulation.*

But his public and avowed Engagements with the *Duillii* and *Icilii*, that is to ſay, with the Heads of the People, and the Favourers of the former Tri-

Tribunes of that Name; the Pains he took to make himſelf agreeable to the *Plebeians*; his Affability and Moderation, ſo contrary to the Pride of which the *Claudian* Family was accuſed; all this gave great Uneaſineſs to his Rivals, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his Colleagues. Theſe latter, to make ſure of his Excluſion, appointed him to preſide at the new Election. And as it was the Cuſtom for him that preſided in the Aſſembly to name thoſe who courted the Poſt that was to be filled, they imagined that after the Declaration he had made of his renouncing that Dignity, he cou'd not have the face to name himſelf for a Candidate: Beſides that it was a thing unheard of, that he who preſided at the Election ſhou'd propoſe himſelf, excepting indeed an Inſtance or two of ſome Tribunes of the People, who upon the like Occaſions had not been aſhamed to abuſe the Confidence of their Fellow-Citizens. APPIUS had no more Modeſty than thoſe ambitious *Plebeians*. The Day of Election being come, contrary to all Rules of Decency, he named himſelf for firſt Decemvir; and the People, ever the Tools of thoſe who know how to blind them with an Appearance of acting for their Good, confirmed by their Votes ſo extraordinary a Nomination. That Decemvir had the Cunning then to get the majority of Votes for *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus*, a Conſular Perſon indeed, and of Manners too till then unblameable, but of a ſlow inactive Temper, naturally averſe to Buſineſs, without Reſolution, and uncapable of withſtanding him in the Execution of the Deſigns which he was meditating. It was upon the ſame Motive, that he next got the Election to fall upon *M. Cornelius*, *M. Servilius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleïus*, Senators very little eſteemed in their own Body, but devoted to his Service; and by his private Brigues they carried that Dignity from the *Quintians*, and even from his own Uncle *Claudius*, a zealous

Year of Rome 303.

a zealous *Patrician*, whom he excluded, as well as all his Colleagues in the first Decemvirate. Lastly, what surprised and alarmed the Senate, was, that Appius, forgetting his own Glory and that of his Ancestors, was not ashamed, out of Complaisance to the late Tribunes, to whom he had sold his Faith, to propose three *Plebeians* for *Decemvirs*, pretending it was but just, that there shou'd be somebody in that College to take care of the Interests of the People. Thus he brought in *Q. Petilius*, *C. Duellius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, all three *Plebeians*, excluded by their Birth from those Prime Magistracies, and who attained them only for having borne Appius thro' all the Voices of the People, whom they led as they pleased, and whom they had persuaded to be for him, according to the private Agreement between them.

Year of Rome 303. *Conspiracy of the Decemvirs.*

Appius at length seeing himself by means of his Dissimulation and Cabals arrived at the Head of the Decemvirate, thought now of nothing but how to make his Dominion perpetual; he immediately assembled his new Colleagues, who were all obliged to him for their Dignity. Then throwing off the Mask of a Republican, he represented to them, that nothing was more easy than to retain the Sovereign Power for their whole Lives; that they were entrusted with a Commission wherein the Consular Authority and the Tribunitian Power were both united; that the Senate and People, always at variance, rather than see the Restoration of those two Magistracies, which were equally odious to them, wou'd chuse to leave the Government as a Pledge in their Hands; that the private People wou'd by degrees grow accustomed to their Authority, and that to preserve it they must bring into their Tribunal the Cognizance of all manner of Affairs, without suffering them to be carried either before the Senate or the Assembly of the People. That above all, they shou'd

ſhou'd carefully avoid convening either of thoſe two Bodies, which might make them ſenſible either of their Rights or Strength. That there would always be found in ſuch Aſſemblies unquiet Spirits impatient of all Dominion, and that to render the Authority of the Decemvirate unſhakable, it behoved the Decemvirs to continue firmly united among themſelves. That they ought to have a mutual Complaiſance for each other; that the whole College ought to intereſt themſelves warmly for the particular Affairs of each Decemvir; and he added, that he thought they ſhou'd all bind themſelves by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, never to interrupt one another in the Execution of their particular Deſigns. As this Propoſal of APPIUS agreeably flattered the Ambition of his Colleagues, they readily came into his Scheme. Every one applauded his Thought; all took the Oaths that he required, and unanimouſly agreed to omit nothing that might ſerve to their keeping, as long as they lived, the Empire and Command which had been intruſted to them but for one ſingle Year: A new Conſpiracy againſt the Public Liberty. D.H.l.10. ſub fin.

Theſe new Magiſtrates entered into Poſſeſſion of their Dignity on the *Ides* of *May*; and to ſtrike immediate Terror and Reſpect into the People, they appeared in publick each with twelve Lictors bearing Axes among their Faſces, like thoſe that uſed to go before the ancient Kings of *Rome*, or the Dictator; ſo that the *Forum* was filled with a hundred and twenty Lictors, who diſperſed the Multitude with a Pride and State inſupportable in a City where Modeſty and Equality always reigned before. The People cou'd not ſee this Train and Parade of Tyranny without Indignation. The Compariſon they made between the Moderation of the Conſuls, and the pompous and haughty Behaviour of the *Decemvirs*, ſoon led them to regret Id. Ibid. 15*th of* May. *Tyranny of the Decemvirs.*

regret their old Government. They complained in private, that now ten Kings were ſet up over them inſtead of two Conſuls. But theſe Reflections came too late, and it was no longer in their Power to undo their own Work. The *Decemvirs* began to reign imperiouſly and with a deſpotic Authority. Beſides their Lictors, they were always ſurrounded by a Band of Fellows without Houſe or Home, moſt of them blackened with Crimes, or loaded with Debts, and that cou'd find no Safety but in the Troubles of the State. But what was ſtill more deplorable, there followed in the Train of theſe new Magiſtrates a crowd of young *Patricians*, who preferring Licentiouſneſs to Liberty, made their Court to the Diſpenſers of Favours in the moſt abject manner: Nay, and to gratify their Paſſions, and provide for their Pleaſures, did not bluſh to be the Miniſters and Accomplices to thoſe of the *Decemvirs*. There was now no Aſylum that cou'd be called ſafe for Beauty and Virtue. Thoſe unbridled Youth, under ſhelter of the Sovereign Power, tore the Daughter out of the Boſom of her Mother with Impunity; others, upon frivolous Pretenſions, took Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of their Neighbours that lay convenient for them. In vain Complaint was made to the *Decemvirs*; the unhappy People were driven away with Contempt, and Favour and Self-intereſt ſat in the Place of Law and Juſtice. If any Citizen, warmed with a remaining Spark of the ancient Liberty, was ſo bold as to expreſs his Reſentment, thoſe Tyrants ordered him to be beaten with Rods like a Slave; others were baniſhed; ſome were even put to Death; and Confiſcation always followed the Puniſhment of the poor Wretches.

The People, groaning under ſo tyrannical a Dominion, turned their Eyes to the Senate, from whence they hoped for Liberty. But moſt of

of the Senators, dreading the Fury of the *Decemvirs*, were retired into the Country. Thoſe that ſtaid in the City were not diſpleaſed to find that the Severity of the preſent Government made them wiſh for that of the Conſuls; and they flatter'd themſelves the People wou'd gladly give up their Tribunes, if they cou'd but be delivered from the Dominion of the *Decemvirs*.

C. Claudius, a Conſular Perſon and APPIUS's Uncle, deeply concerned to ſee his Nephew make himſelf the Tyrant of his Country, went ſeveral times to get to the Speech of him, to put him in mind how much he ſhamed the Memory of his Anceſtors by ſo odious a Conduct. But the Head of the *Decemvirs*, who cou'd not bear the Thoughts of his Remonſtrances, eluded his Viſits with different Pretences. *C. Claudius* cou'd never penetrate ſo far as his Apartment, and that old Magiſtrate found by Experience, that Tyrants never own either Relations or Friends.

Two Tables added to the Ten.

In the mean time thoſe new Magiſtrates added Two Tables of Laws to the Ten that had been promulgated the Year before; but they ſettled nothing in them about the Partition of the conquered Lands. It was particularly obſerved alſo, that in the two laſt Tables there was an Article prohibiting Alliances berween the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by Inter-Marriage, and that they had made an expreſs Law of an old Cuſtom. It was ſuſpected that the *Decemvirs* eſtabliſhed this new Law, and at the ſame time neglected to make any Regulation in the Buſineſs of the Partition of Lands, only to perpetuate the Diviſion between the two Orders of the Republic. They were apprehenſive that if the Nobility and People ſhou'd ever unite, they wou'd turn againſt them that ancient Animoſity which it was ſo much their Intereſt to keep alive. However, as the Authority of

of these *Decemvirs* was to hold but for one Year, it was hoped their Tyranny wou'd expire with that Term. But the *Ides* of *May* came, and not the least Appearance of any *Comitia* or of an Assemby for an Election. The Tyrants then shewed themselves bare-faced, and in spite both of Senate and People retained the Government, without any other Title but Force and Violence. All that gave them the least Umbrage were proscribed. Many Citizens voluntarily banished themselves from their Country; some took Refuge even among the *Latines* and *Hernici*; and *Rome*, now almost a Desart, was left a Prey to those Tyrants.

Usurpation of the Decemvirs.

Every body secretly deplored the Loss of Liberty, but not one Citizen in the whole Republic was so generous as to attempt to break their Chains. The *Roman* People seemed to have lost that Courage which before got them so much Fear and Respect among their Neighbours. The *Latines* and those that had submitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*, despised the Orders that were sent them, as if they cou'd not bear to see the Empire remain in a City which had lost its own Liberty; and the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made Incursions quite up to the very Gates of *Rome* with Impunity.

Those eternal Enemies of the Republic taking Advantage of the Consternation the *Roman* Peopln was in, raised two Armies. The *Sabines* advanced along the *Tyber* to within an hundred and forty Stadia of *Rome*; and the *Æqui*, after having plundered the Territory of *Tusculum*, came and encamped near *Algidum*. Those two Armies seemed to threaten *Rome* with a Siege. This News very much surprized the *Decemvirs*; they were obliged to arm on their parts, but there was no doing this without the joint Consent of the Senate and People, and they cou'd not but know how odious they were to both. They held several Councils among them-

themſelves, full of Trouble and Confuſion. The Queſtion was, Whether they ſhou'd apply to the People, or the Senate; and what perplexed the Decemvirs moſt was, their Fear that the Year of their Magiſtracy being expired, the very Right of Convocation wou'd be diſputed with them, as being now but mere private Men. At length, after ſeveral Deliberations, as the Decemvirs were moſt of them of the Body of the Senate, and had Friends in it, they determined to call that, and agreed upon the Part that each of them ſhou'd act in the Aſſembly. Their Creatures undertook to anſwer the Complaints of thoſe that ſhou'd demand the Abolition of the Decemvirate. They choſe this way, in hopes they ſhou'd obtain a Levy of Troops by their Intereſt; and they thought the People, as much as they ſeemed enraged, cou'd not reſiſt it, having with their Tribunes loſt the Privilege of Oppoſition.

A Herald by the Decemvirs Order immediately convened the Senate. They then went to it themſelves, but they found none there but their own Adherents. The other Senators had thrown up the Care of the public Affairs, and were retir'd, as we ſaid before, to their Country Houſes. The Decemvirs, ſent Meſſengers thither to them, appointing another Aſſembly for next Day. Moſt of them returned to *Rome*, and came to the Senate; but with Views widely different from thoſe of the Decemvirs. *Appius* in a ſtudied Diſcourſe laid open the Neceſſity of taking Arms, to repel the Incurſions of the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*. *Year of* Rome 304.

L. Valerius Potitus, without waiting till it came to his turn to give his Opinion, preſently ſtood up. He was the Son of that *Valerius* who was ſlain at the Head of the *Romans* fighting againſt *Herdonius*, and Grandſon of the famous VALERIUS, ſurnamed *Publicola*, one of the chief Founders of D.H. l. 11. L. Valerius Potitus's *Intrepidity*.

the public Liberty. *Appius* fearing that a Man of his Birth and Character, if he ſpoke firſt, wou'd propoſe ſomething contrary to the Intereſt of the Decemvirs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his Peace, and wait till Senators older than himſelf, and more conſiderable in the Republic, had declared their Opinions firſt. 'I 'wou'd have done ſo, reply'd *Valerius* calmly, 'if I had nothing to ſpeak upon but the Buſineſs 'you propoſed. But the Liberty of the Repub- 'lic is to be looked to firſt. Shall it ever be ſaid 'that a mere private Man, whoſe Magiſtracy is 'expir'd, impoſed Silence upon *Valerius?* Muſt 'your Tyranny reduce a Senator to regret that 'Aſſiſtance which the meaneſt of the People uſed 'to receive from the Oppoſition of their Tri- 'bunes? But ſince you and your Colleagues have 'uſurp'd their Power, I appeal to thoſe very Col- 'leagues, not ſo much with hopes of being re- 'lieved by them, as to lay open to the Eyes of the 'World the Conſpiracy you have formed againſt 'the public Liberty. And you eſpecially, *Fa- 'bius Vibulanus*, you that have been honoured 'with three Conſulates, will you give occaſion 'for Men to ſay, that out of complaiſance to Ty- 'rants, you betrayed the Intereſts of your Coun- 'try?

Fabius, doubtful and confounded, knew not what to anſwer. But APPIUS tranſported with Rage, cried out to him once more to hold his Peace; and the other Decemvirs threatned to have him thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock, as an Incendiary and Diſturber of the pub- lic Quiet. A way of proceeding ſo violent and ſo extraordinary in a Body where all were indeed up- on a perfect Equality, filled the whole Aſſembly with Indignation. *M. Horatius Barbatus* ſeem'd moſt provok'd at it. He was Grandſon of that HORATIUS *Cocles*, who in Defence of his Country's Liberty

M. Horatius Barbatus's *Intrepidity.*

Liberty ſuſtained alone upon a Bridge the Shock of *Porſenna*'s whole Army. The ſame Republican Spirit that had been ſo great an Honour to the Fathers, deſcended to their Children. The *Horatius* we now ſpeak of, not able any longer to bear the Pride and Inſolence of the DECEMVIRS, ſtood up, and publicly called them the *Tarquins* and Tyrants of their Country.

'You tell us, ſays he, of the War of the *Sa-*
'*bines*, as if the *Roman* People had any Enemies
'greater than your ſelves. I wou'd gladly know
'by what Authority you convened this Aſſembly,
'and by what Right you pretend to preſide in it.
'Is not the Time of your Magiſtracy expir'd?
'Do you not know that the Power of the De-
'cemvirate was given you but for one Year? We
'choſe you to eſtabliſh ſuch Laws as were fit for
'a free State to ſubmit to, and you have left no
'Footſtep of that Equality which was the ſole
'Object the *Romans* had in view. You have ſup-
'preſſed the Aſſemblies of the People, and the
'Convocations of the Senate. There is now no
'talk of Elections, neither of Conſuls, nor of
'Tribunes. All the annual Magiſtracies are a-
'boliſh'd: You have totally ſubverted the ancient
'Order of Government, to build upon its Ru-
'ins your own particular Empire and Domini-
'on. But know, that the Blood of *Valerius* and
'*Horatius*, who formerly drove the *Tarquins* out
'of *Rome*, yet runs in the Veins of their De-
'ſcendants. We have the ſame Courage and
'the ſame Zeal for the Liberty of our Country.
'The Gods, Protectors of this City, will grant
'us the ſame Succeſs; and I hope the People,
'no leſs jealous of their Freedom than their
'Anceſtors, will never deſert us in ſo juſt a
'Cauſe.

A Diſcourſe ſo reſolute quite ſtunned the Decemvirs. They knew not whether they ſhou'd

ſhew their Anger, or affect Moderation. *Appius*, to ſoften the Minds of the Senate, repreſented that they were ſo far from ſetting up for Tyrants, that they had called the Senate only to take its Advice upon the preſent State of Affairs. That if he had impoſed Silence upon *Valerius*, it was only to oblige him to conform to the ordinary Method, which was, that every Man ſhou'd ſpeak according to his Rank, unleſs he was particularly applied to by him that preſided in the Senate. Then turning to his Uncle *C. Claudius*, he bid him ſpeak his Mind with all the Freedom that the Aſſembly cou'd wiſh for. He flatter'd himſelf, that the Intereſt of his Family, the Ties of Blood, and in ſome meaſure the Honour he did him in asking his Opinion firſt, wou'd induce him to confute what ſeemed too harſh againſt him in *Horatius*'s Speech. But he directed himſelf to a true *Roman*, and one that wou'd have ſacrificed his own Children to the Preſervation of the public Liberty. He had even been very often, as we ſaid before, at his Nephew APPIUS's Houſe to endeavour to make him ſenſible of the Unlawfulneſs of his Government; but the Servants, by their Maſter's Direction, had always kept him from his Preſence with various Excuſes, and he had no Opportunity, but in ſo public an Aſſembly, to tell him his Thoughts ſincerely.

C. Claudius's *Intrepidity.*

That Senator obſerved firſt to the Aſſembly, that two Affairs of different Natures were then to be conſidered of; a War which was to be carry'd on Abroad, and remedying the Diſſentions which raged at Home with relation to the Government. That what was termed a War, was nothing but ſome tranſient Incurſions of a few Parties of the Enemy, who ventured to come near the Frontiers of the State, only upon the Encouragement of the inteſtine Diviſions that ſplit the Republic. That therefore they ſhou'd firſt

ſettle

ſettle Peace and Union in the City, and that then only diſplaying the Standards of the Legions wou'd be enough to frighten away the *Æqui*, and the *Sabines*, over whom the *Romans* had already ſo often triumphed. But that he doubted whether the People wou'd range themſelves under the Enſigns of the *Decemvirs*, whom they juſtly look'd upon as private Men, who had uſurped the Sovereign Power, and without either the Agreement of the Senate or Conſent of the People, had by their own private Authority continued themſelves in the Government of the State. Then directing his Speech to APPIUS: 'Can you be now to learn, 'ſaid he to him, how very odious ſo unjuſt an 'Enterprize is to all good Men? And if you 'doubt it, the voluntary Exile to which our moſt 'illuſtrious Senators have condemned themſelves, 'does it not ſufficiently ſhew that they look up'on you to be no better than a Tyrant? The 'Senate very impatiently bears that you ſhou'd 'rob them of their Authority; the People de'manded their Right of Appeal, or that of Op'poſition which you have ſuppreſs'd; all our Ci'tizens call upon you, ſome for their Eſtates, which 'have been made a Prey to your Ruffians, others 'for their Daughters which you have forced away 'to ſatisfy your guilty Paſſions. The whole City, 'the whole Nation deteſt a Magiſtracy, which 'has deſtroyed their Liberty, aboliſhed the uſe 'of *Comitia*, uſurped the legal Authority of the 'Conſuls, and put down the Power of the Tri'bunes. Reſtore to the Commonwealth, the 'Power with which ſhe intruſted you but for 'one Year; reſtore to us our ancient Form of 'Government; reſtore your ſelves to your own 'Innocence. Call to mind your former Virtue, 'and generouſly quit together with an unwarrant'able Power the Name of a *Decemvir*, which 'your have made ſo odious. I conjure you to this

'by our common Anceſtors, by the *Manes* of 'your Father, that illuſtrious Citizen, who left 'you ſo noble an Example of Moderation, and 'of Zeal for the Public Liberty; I conjure you 'above all, by your own Preſervation, and the 'care of your Life, which you muſt unavoidably 'loſe by ſome ignominious Puniſhment, if you 'obſtinately perſiſt to hold any longer the unjuſt 'Power which you have uſurp'd over your Fel-'low-Citizens.

Appius's Confuſion. APPIUS, covered with Shame at ſuch juſt Reproaches, had not Power to anſwer. His Silence was looked upon as a tacit Confeſſion of his Injuſtice, and even as an approaching Diſpoſition to abdicate the *Decemvirate*. But *M. Cornelius*, one of his Colleagues, taking upon him to ſpeak, and applying himſelf directly to *C. Claudius*, told him proudly, that thoſe who had the Government of the Republic, did not ſtand in need of His Advice to direct their Conduct. That if he thought he had a Right to give particular Counſels to his Nephew, he might go to him at his Houſe; that in the Senate nothing was to be debated but the Affairs of the Public; and that they were now met upon the Neceſſity of taking up Arms againſt the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, who were advancing towards *Rome*, and that he might ſpeak his Opinion as to this point, without running wide of the Purpoſe in hand by unneceſſary Digreſſions. *Claudius*, yet more provoked at the ſcornful Silence of APPIUS, than at his Colleague's inſolent Anſwer, turned to the Senate: 'Since my Ne-'phew, ſays he, will not condeſcend to ſpeak to 'me, neither in his own Houſe, nor in full Se-'nate, and I am ſo unhappy as to ſee the Tyrant 'of my Country ariſe out of my own Family, I 'declare, Conſcript Fathers, that I am reſolved 'to retire to *Regillus*. I baniſh my ſelf from '*Rome*, and make an Oath never to enter it a-'gain

M. Cornelius's Pride.

'gain but with our Liberty. However, to fulfill 'the Obligation I lie under of giving my Opi-'nion, with relation to the preſent Buſineſs, I 'don't think that any Levy of Troops ought 'to be made till Conſuls are firſt choſen to lead 'them.

L. Quintius Cincinnatus, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all Conſular Perſons and the principal Men in the Senate, declared themſelves of the ſame Opinion, and one after another voted for the Abolition of the Decemvirate. *M. Cornelius*, one of the *Decemvirs*, apprehending that the Authority of thoſe great Men wou'd draw the reſt of the Senate after them, interrupted the Order of gathering the Suffrages, and asked the Opinion of his Brother *L. Cornelius*, with whom he had before concerted the Speech he ſhou'd make in Defence of the Decemvirate. That Senator riſing up, never went about to juſtify either the Authority or Conduct of the *Decemvirs*: But taking a more cunning Turn, he only repreſented that he thought it wou'd be expedient to defer the Election of new Magiſtrates, till they had driven the Enemy out of the Territory of *Rome*. 'Have thoſe, ſaid he, who proſecute the 'Abdication of the *Decemvirs* with ſo much 'Warmth, had any Promiſe from the *Æqui* and '*Sabines*, that they will put a Stop to the Pro-'greſs of their Arms, till we have changed the 'Form of our Government? You know, ſaid he, 'Conſcript Fathers, the tedious Delays which 'our Elections require: Firſt, there muſt be a '*Senatusconſultum* to appoint the *Comitia*. That 'Aſſembly, whether convened by Centuries or by 'Tribes, cannot be held till ſeven and twenty 'Days after Notice given. And before the new 'Magiſtrates can be named, and confirmed by a 'ſecond Aſſembly, and have taken Poſſeſſion of 'the Government of the State, and raiſed the

L. Cornelius's *Speech in favour of the* Decemvirs.

'Troops necessary to repel the Enemy, who will 'warrant us that we shall not see them at the 'Gates of *Rome*, and in a Condition to lay Siege 'to the City? Shall we go ridiculously and say 'to the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, Gentlemen, pray su-'spend the Progress of your Arms; let us be qui-'et till we have put an end to our Divisions at 'Home; the Senate is not yet agreed about the 'Form of our Government; but when once the 'Consulship is restored, when once we have new 'Magistrates at the Head of our Armies, then get 'ye out of our Territory without Delay, take 'Branches of Vervain, and return and sue to us 'humbly for Peace, unless you have a mind to 'feel the Fury of our Legions? Is such a Discourse 'fit to be heard in so venerable an Assembly? And 'yet these are the natural Consequences of *Clau-*
'*dius*'s Proposal. Mine is, that our *Decemvirs* im-
D. H. l. 11. 'mediately inlist the Legions, and march forth-'with against the Enemies. Let us drive them 'from our Frontiers; let us force them, by the 'Terror of our Arms, to beseech us to grant them 'Peace; and when we have secured our selves 'Abroad, then, Fathers, employ your Thoughts 'upon our domestic Affairs. Revoke by your Au-'thority that of the *Decemvirs*, if they will not 'lay it down themselves with a good Grace: Call 'them to an Account for their Administration; 'elect new Magistrates in their room, and let the 'Republic return again to her ancient Constitu-'tion. But permit me to tell you, that in matter 'of Government Things must be done according 'to the present Conjuncture and the Necessities of 'the State.

The Creatures of the *Decemvirs* declared loud-ly for this Opinion. The younger Senators, when it came to their turn to speak, agreed to it, out of the Heat of their Courage, which made them long to come to an Engagement with the

Foe. Some of the oldeſt Senators were of the ſame Side, in hopes that after the War was finiſhed, the Abdication of the *Decemvirs* wou'd follow quietly of courſe, and ſo the Government return naturally into the Hands of the Conſuls; and that prudent Magiſtrates by their Moderation might perhaps accuſtom the People by ſlow degrees to do without their Tribunes.

APPIUS, who with a ſecret Pleaſure ſaw that the Majority were of the Opinion of *Cornelius*, did then only for Form ſake deſire that of *Valerius*, on whom he had impoſed Silence at the beginning of the Aſſembly. 'Is it poſſible, cried 'that Senator, that we can bear to ſee our Ty- *Bold Diſcourſe of* 'rants exerciſe their Dominion thus in the Se- Valerius. 'nate, and in the very Sanctuary of Liberty? My 'Mouth was ſtopt when my ſpeaking cou'd have 'been of any Service, and now I am allowed to 'declare my Mind when the Votes are already 'gathered, when the Majority has declared for 'the Opinion of *Cornelius*, and when all further 'Remonſtrances are hardly to any manner of purpoſe. However, I will not betray my Conſcience and the Intereſts of my Country. I will 'ſpeak what I think of the Continuance of the 'Power which the *Decemvirs* have uſurp'd, and 'I will do it with all the Courage and Freedom 'of a true *Roman*.

'I declare firſt that I heartily ſubſcribe to all 'that *C. Claudius* has ſo wiſely repreſented to you, 'with relation to the Neceſſity there is of creating 'new Magiſtrates before we take the Field. But 'ſince *L. Cornelius*, the avowed Defender of Ty-'ranny, has endeavoured to turn ſo judicious a 'Counſel into Ridicule, upon pretence that the 'Delays requiſite in the Election of thoſe Magiſtrates wou'd waſte the Time that ſhou'd be employed in repelling the Enemy, I think my ſelf 'obliged to ſhew you the Artifice that lies hid be-

'neath

'neath this falſe Reaſoning. To convince you of it, do but call to mind the Meaſures which the Republic took about ten Years ſince, againſt the ſame Enemies, in the Conſulate of *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius*.

'You know, that while *Nautius* was on one ſide fighting againſt the *Sabines*, *Minutius*, his Colleague, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up by the *Æqui*, in the narrow Paſſages of ſome Mountains. There was a Neceſſity to raiſe a new Army to relieve him; the Tribunes as uſual oppoſed raiſing any Troops, unleſs the Senate wou'd admit the Law concerning the Partition of the Lands. In this Extremity, as neither Party wou'd abate any thing of its Pretenſions, Recourſe was had to a Dictator, whoſe Authority was ſuperior both to the Senate and the Tribunes of the People. *L. Quintius* was choſen; he was ſent for out of the Country; he returned to *Rome*; he raiſed a new Army, and in a Fortnight's time brought off that of *Minutius*, and triumph'd over the Enemy. What hinders now but that we ſhou'd follow ſo wiſe and ſo recent an Example? Let us chuſe an *Inter-rex*, as we ſhou'd do if the two Conſuls were dead: Let him name a Dictator; you will then have a lawful Magiſtrate; all this may be done in leſs than a Day. He will raiſe Troops by the Supreme Power belonging to his Dignity; we ſhall march againſt our Enemies out of hand; and at our Return from the Campaign, that Magiſtrate, whoſe Power cannot laſt more than ſix Months, will by his Abdication give us time to proceed at leiſure, and according to the uſual Forms upon the Election of Conſuls. If on the contrary you intruſt the Command of your Armies to the *Decemvirs*, do you imagine thoſe ambitious Men who have uſurped a Tyrannical Power, and in ſpite of all our Laws refuſe ſo

'obſtinately to deliver up the Faſces, will eaſily 'be brought to lay down their Arms? Believe 'rather they will turn them againſt yourſelves, 'and make uſe of them to perpetuate their Ty- 'ranny. I demand therefore, in the extreme 'Danger which the Public Liberty is now in, 'that the Propoſal I make to name a Dictator 'be examined, and the Opinions and Votes of 'the Senate gathered whether it ſhall be done or 'no.

Such of the Senators as abhorred or feared the Power of the *Decemvirs*, declared themſelves of this Opinion. But the Favourers of the *Decemvirs* cried out, that the Command of the Armies had already been aſſigned to the *Decemvirs* by Plurality of Voices; that it was an Affair decided, and that *Valerius*'s Oppoſition ought to be looked upon only as one Voice the leſs in favour of the *Decemvirs*. *Appius* in confirmation of this Argument added, that the Aſſembly was called only to give order about the War, which the *Æqui* and *Sabines* made upon the Republic. That *C. Claudius*, *Cornelius* and *Valerius* had propoſed different Opinions; but that of *Cornelius* having prevailed with the Majority, he ordered the Secretary to draw up the *Senatusconſultum* out of hand, committing to the *Decemvirs* the Care of this War, and the Command of the Armies. Then turning to *Valerius*, he told him with a contemptuous Smile, that if ever he attained to the Conſulſhip, he might then have an Affair already decided reviſed over again. The *Decemvirs* aroſe after having ſigned the *Senatusconſultum*, and went out of the Senate, followed by their Adherents, who congratulated them upon the Advantage they had juſt gained over the oppoſite Party.

Tyranny of the Decemvirs.

The Command of the Armies now allotted them confirmed their Authority, and made it yet more formidable. They employed it to revenge themſelves

ſelves of their private Enemies, and they reckoned as ſuch all thoſe that did not ſubmit to be their Slaves. Every body in ſecret bewailed the Loſs of Liberty. *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who wou'd be wanting neither to the Republic nor themſelves, gathered together in their Houſes a great number of their Friends and Clients to ſecure them againſt the Violence of the *Decemvirs*; and they never appeared in the City without a powerful Attendance ſtrong enough to repel the Inſult they had reaſon to expect. The Commonwealth was ſplit into two Parties; of one ſide was a noble Zeal for Liberty, and an inviolable Adherence to the Laws; of the other was an immoderate Thirſt of Dominion, ſupported by the Magiſtracy and the Appearances of a legal Authority. The Animoſity which raged in theſe two Parties gave Cauſe to dread a Civil War. *C. Claudius*, Uncle to the *Decemvir Appius Claudius*, for fear of being engaged in it, left *Rome*, as he had declared in full Senate he wou'd do, and retired to *Regillus* his old Country. Other Senators and the Principal Citizens of *Rome*, who could not endure the Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, and yet found themſelves unable to deſtroy it, ſought an *Aſylum* in the Country or among the neighbouring Nations. *Appius* enraged at this Retirement, which was ſo flagrant a Proof of the Averſion which was borne to his Government, placed Guards at the City Gates: But finding this Precaution only increaſed the Number of the Malcontents, he removed that Guard; and to be revenged of thoſe that withdrew, he confiſcated the Effects they had in *Rome*; with which he paid and rewarded his Ruffians.

A Conduct ſo violent opened the Eyes of the People, as well as of the Senate. Both ſaw with Indignation, that inſtead of wiſe Legiſlators, they had eſtabliſh'd no better than ſo many Tyrants.

The

The People, jealous of and averſe to the Senate's Authority, had at firſt with pleaſure beheld ariſing upon the Ruins of the Conſulſhip a new Power, which allowed the Senators no Share in the Government. The Senate on their Parts did not oppoſe the Eſtabliſhment of a Tribunal which delivered them from the ſeditious Harangues of the Tribunes of the People: And thus both the Orders of the Commonwealth had mutually ſacrificed their particular Magiſtrates to each other. The *Decemvirs*, in whoſe Hands their Authority was depoſited, took Advantage of this Folly: Their Aim was to perpetuate themſelves in the Government. And having now got the Command of the Armies, they deſpiſed Malecontents whom they no longer feared. The People, deſtitute of their Tribunes, were forced to liſt themſelves. The Legions were ſoon compleated: They were divided into three Bodies. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* marched againſt the *Sabines* at the Head of one Army, and *Q. Petilius* and *M. Rabuleius* were appointed for his Colleague and his Council. *M. Cornelius* was named General of the Troops that were to be ſent againſt the *Æqui*, and with him went *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duellius*, all *Decemvirs*. *Appius* their Head ſtaid at *Rome* with *Oppius*, and kept with him a Body of Troops which he placed as a Gariſon in the Capitol, to maintain his Authority againſt the Enemy at Home, who was much more formidable than that Abroad. Thus mere private Men under the Title of *Decemvirs* got Poſſeſſion of the whole Strength of the State, which under their Dominion retained nothing but the bare Name of a Commonwealth. *Year of* Rome 304.

The People who compoſed the Legions, that is to ſay, the Centurions and the Soldiers, exaſperated at the Loſs of their Liberty, wou'd not Conquer, for fear of increaſing the Power of the *De-* *The Armies of the Decemvirs defeated.*

Decemvirs by getting them Victory. The two Armies were defeated almoſt without Fighting. They were not ſo properly Battels as concerted Flights. The Army that was appointed againſt the *Æqui* loſt their Arms and Baggage; that which was to fight the *Sabines* abandoned their Camp, and made a haſty Retreat to the Territory of *Rome*. The Soldiers diſperſed different ways, and never rallied till they were out of ſight of the Enemy; and the News of theſe Defeats was received at *Rome* with the ſame Joy that wou'd at another time have been ſhewn for a compleat Victory.

It was openly ſaid in the City, that 'twas no wonder the Armies of the Republic had ill Succeſs under Leaders that had uſurped the Command. Some called for Conſuls; others propoſed to chuſe a Dictator as in a public Calamity, and the People languiſhed for the Reſtoration of their Tribunes.

Hiſtory of Siccius Dentatus.

Siccius Dentatus, the renowned *Plebeian*, that had been in an hundred and twenty Engagements, filled the Ears of the Multitude with nothing but the Faults which he affirmed the *Decemvirs* had committed in the Management of this War. His Opinion, and his Contempt of thoſe Generals, ſpread over both the Armies. Scarce wou'd the Soldiers ſo much as give heed to their Orders. Some demanded Proviſions, others Arms; and a general Diſcontent ſeemed to foreſhew an approaching Revolt.

Appius, who took care to provide againſt all Events, ſends Recruits and Proviſions to his Colleagues. He exhorts them to keep the Soldiers in awe by the Terror of Puniſhment; but that if they thought thoſe Methods dangerous in the preſent Conjuncture, they wou'd not want Opportunities in that Campaign to deſtroy the moſt mutinous by private means. He himſelf ſet them an Ex-

Example: *Siccius* was odious to him upon account of the Freedom of his Talk, and the Power he had gained over the Minds of the People; he reſolved to rid himſelf of him. To draw him out of *Rome*, he conſulted him upon the Operations of the Campaign. He diſcourſed with him ſeveral times; and after having beſtow'd great Praiſes upon the Advice he receiv'd from him, he engaged him, tho' a *Veteran*, to go to the Army that was fighting with the *Sabines*, pretending that he ſhou'd aſſiſt the General with his Counſels. And the ſooner to induce him to make the Campaign, he inveſted him with the Title of Envoy or Legate: a Function which among the *Romans*, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, was ſacred and inviolable, and which included the Sanctity of the Prieſthood, together with the Authority of a General Officer, and Power of the chief Magiſtrates. D.H. l. 11.

Siccius, free from Diſtruſt, and with the Sincerity of a brave Soldier, gladly embraces an Opportunity of ſerving his Country. He repairs to the Camp with all ſpeed. The *Decemvirs*, inſtructed by APPIUS, receive him with outward Marks of Joy, and treat him with Diſtinction. Nothing is undertaken without his Advice; but this ſeeming Deference only conceal'd a private Deſign of making away with him. An Occaſion ſoon offered. *Siccius*, with his accuſtomed Freedom, having plainly told the *Decemvirs*, he did not think they were Encamped ſo advantageouſly as they might be, they commiſſioned him to mark out a new Camp as he thought proper, and gave him a Guard to go and view the Situation of the Country. But this Guard conſiſted only of the *Decemvirs* Ruffians, who had ſecret Orders to diſpatch him. *Siccius* having led them into the narrow Paſſages of ſome Mountains, they took that Opportunity to fall upon him. *Siccius* no ſooner perceiv'd their baſe Deſign, but ſetting his Back Id. ibid.

againſt

againſt a Rock, that he might not be attacked behind, he received them with a Courage that ſtruck a Terror into the boldeſt of them. That generous *Roman*, calling up all his ancient Valour, ſlew ſeveral of them, and wounded others: Not one of them now durſt venture near him: They ſtood at a diſtance and flung their Darts at him. But as even this wou'd not effect their Purpoſe, the Villains climb'd up to the Top of the Rock, and thence knocked him on the Head with Stones. And thus this brave Soldier, that had return'd victorious from ſo many Battels, at laſt fell unhappily by the Hands of Traytors hired by the *Decemvirs*. They then went back to the Camp, and gave out that they fell into an Ambuſh, in which they had loſt their Captain and part of their Comrades. At firſt they were believ'd; but a Band of Soldiers, that looked upon *Siccius* as their Father, going of their own accord to fetch his Corpſe, in order to pay their laſt Duties to it, perceived that the ſlain were all *Romans*; that they were all fallen with their Faces towards him; that they were ſtripp'd neither of their Arms nor Cloaths; and beſides, that there was not one Man of the Enemy among them, or the leaſt Footſteps to be diſcovered of their Retreat. All theſe Circumſtances laid together, made them ſuſpect that *Siccius* had been murdered by his Guard. This Suſpicion ran all thro' the Camp, and raiſed loud Complaints and a general Diſcontent. The whole Army demanded, with the greateſt Fury, that the Aſſaſſins ſhou'd be brought to Juſtice. But the *Decemvirs* helped them to make their Eſcape; and to ſtifle all Thoughts that they themſelves cou'd have any hand in ſo horrid an Action, they gave *Siccius* a military Funeral, no leſs honourable than if he had commanded the Army in chief. Theſe Honours ſo extraordinary for a *Plebeian*, whom every

Siccius Dentatus *kill'd.*

Liv. l. 3. c. 44.

ry Body knew they hated, fully convinced the Soldiers that *Siccius* was not murdered without their Knowledge. The Diſcontent of this Army quickly ſpread to the other Camp, and even to *Rome*. The Citizens and the Soldiers, the Senate and the People, publickly cried out againſt ſo infamous a Deed. All were ready to ſhake off the Yoke of ſo bloody a Rule, when APPIUS by a new attempt, ſtill more odious and tyrannical, filled up the meaſure of his Tyrannies, and of the Averſion which all the Orders of the State had for him.

The Army diſcontented.

We have already ſaid, that by Agreement with his Colleagues he ſtaid at *Rome* at the Head of a Body of Troops to keep the Inhabitants in Obedience to the Decemvirate. That *Decemvir*, who had brought into his own ſingle Perſon the Authority of all the Magiſtrates, uſed to adminiſter Juſtice in the *Forum*. As he was one Day in his Tribunal, he ſaw paſſing by a young Woman of uncommon Beauty, of about fifteen Years of Age, going with her Nurſe to the public Schools: Her Charms, and the blooming Graces of Youth, immediately drew his Attention. He cou'd not help beholding her with a ſecret Pleaſure: His Curioſity increaſed the next Day; he thought her more lovely than before. And as the young Creature went every Day thro' the *Forum*, he by degrees conceived a violent Paſſion for her, which in the end proved equally fatal to himſelf and her too. He had taken care, the very firſt Day he ſaw her, to enquire out her Name and Family. He was informed that ſhe was by Birth a *Plebeian*; that her Name was VIRGINIA; that ſhe had loſt her Mother, who was called *Numitoria*; that her Father *Virginius* then ſerved as Centurion in the Army of *F. Vibulanus* the Decemvir, and that *Virginius* had promiſed his Daughter to *Icilius* who

The Story of Virginia.

had been Tribune of the People, and who was to marry her at the end of the Campaign.

This Account, ſo perplexing for APPIUS's Love, only ſerved to increaſe it. He wou'd readily have married VIRGINIA himſelf; but beſides that he had a Wife already, he had not forgot that the laſt Laws of the twelve Tables, of which he was the chief Framer, prohibited all Alliances between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; and he had no room to hope for the Accompliſhment of his guilty Wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young Lady.

The Innocence and Modeſty of VIRGINIA hindered him from opening his diſhoneſt Purpoſe directly to her ſelf. He thought it more proper to begin the Work by means of one of thoſe Women of Intrigue, who make a private Market of the Beauty and Charms of Youth. He loaded her with Favours, and after having let her into his Deſires, he ordered her not to name him, and to ſpeak of him no otherwiſe than as a Man of one of the beſt Families in the City, and that had an abſolute Authority in the Commonwealth. This Woman, by his Directions, applied her ſelf to VIRGINIA's Nurſe. She made an Acquaintance with her, tried to inſinuate her ſelf into her Confidence, and after great Preparations back'd with noble Preſents, and Promiſes yet more glorious, the wicked Wretch diſcovered to her the Subject of her Errand. But the Nurſe, equally prudent and faithful, rejected with Horror both her Gifts and her Propoſals. APPIUS learn'd with Grief that it was equally impoſſible either to deceive or corrupt her. That Magiſtrate, furious and obſtinate in his Paſſions, was however not diſheartened: He had recourſe to another Artifice, and laid a moſt deteſtable Scheme, which, if it ſucceeded, wou'd put VIRGINIA wholly in his Power.

D.H. l. 11. p. 710. Livy l. 3. c. 13.

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He intruſted the chief part to a Client of his named *M. Claudius*, a Man without Shame or Fear, and one of thoſe that introduce themſelves to the Ear of the Great, only by a baſe Complaiſance for their Pleaſures. This Miniſter of the *Decemvir*'s Paſſion, entered the public School where VIRGINIA was, took her by the Hand, and was dragging her by Force to his own Houſe, pretending ſhe was the Daughter of one of his Slaves; and it was the Cuſtom that the Children of Slaves were Slaves themſelves to the Maſters of their Father and Mother. The young Lady, overwhelmed with Confuſion, defended herſelf only by her Tears; but the People moved at the Cries of her Nurſe, ran to her Aſſiſtance, and hindered *Claudius* from carrying her away. The impudent Villian immediately implored the Aſſiſtance of the Laws; he ſaid, he did not mean to uſe any Violence; but that he thought a Maſter might ſeize his Slave where-ever he found her, and called thoſe who oppoſed the Juſtice of his Pretenſions to appear with him immediately before the *Decemvir*; and with this he led the young VIRGINIA to his Tribunal. All the People follow'd her, ſome out of Curioſity to ſee the Iſſue of ſo ſtrange a Buſineſs, and others out of Affection to *Icilius*, who during his Tribunate had made himſelf very acceptable to the Multitude. *Numitorius*, VIRGINIA's Uncle, having notice of what was doing, preſently haſted to her Aſſiſtance, together with him to whom ſhe was bethrothed. *Claudius* laid open his Claim before a Judge that was himſelf the Author of the Villany. He ſaid, the Girl was born in his Houſe; that ſhe was privately ſtolen away by a Slave that was her Mother, and who to conceal her Theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead Child: But that it had ſince been diſcovered that ſhe had ſold this Girl to VIRGINIUS's Wife who was barren, and who being uneaſy at

having no Child, had made her pass for her Daughter: That he was ready to produce undeniable Testimonies of what he advanced; but that in the mean while, till the Contest was decided, it was but just that a Slave shou'd go with her Master, and that he wou'd give good Security for her appearance again, if *Virginius*, at his Return, still pretended to be her real Father.

Numitorius presently saw that there was some body much more powerful at the bottom of this Contrivance; but he prudently concealed his Suspicions, and represented to the *Decemvir* with a great deal of Calmness, that his Neice's Father was absent in the Service of his Country; that it was very unjust to dispute a Citizen's Right to his very Children, when he was not present to assert it; that he asked a Respite but of two Days to fetch him from the Army; that till his Return he wou'd keep VIRGINIA in his own House. That this care belong'd to him as being her Uncle; that he wou'd give any Security whatsoever for producing her again; but that it was not reasonable to trust the Daughter of *Virginius* in the House of such a one as *Claudius*, where her Honour wou'd be more in Danger even than her Liberty. He added, that what he demanded was conformable to the Laws, which ordained, that in a Law-suit, before a definitive Sentence, the Plaintiff shou'd not disturb the Defendant in his Possession.

The whole Assembly approved the Justice of this Request. APPIUS having caused Silence to be proclaimed, and affecting the Equity and Impartiality of a just Judge, declared that he shou'd always be the Protector of so reasonable a Law, and which he himself had inserted in the twelve Tables. But that in the present Dispute, there were some particular Circumstances which altered the Case; that none but the Father cou'd claim

Possession

Poſſeſſion of her he pretended to be his Daughter, and that if he were preſent he wou'd allow him the proviſional keeping of her; but that a Brother-in-law had not the ſame Privilege in his Abſence. That he was indeed willing to grant whatever time was neceſſary to ſend for *Virginius* from the Army, in order to know his Intentions, but that Delay ſhou'd not be in prejudice of a Maſter that laid claim to his Slave; and that therefore he decreed that *Claudius* ſhou'd take VIRGINIA to his Houſe, giving good Security to produce her again at the return of him who was called her Father.

The whole Aſſembly exclaimed againſt the Injuſtice of this Decree: Nothing was to be heard but Murmurs and Complaints. The Women eſpecially, with Tears in their Eyes, gathered round VIRGINIA, and placed her in the midſt of them, as if they meant to defend her. But *Claudius*, without any regard to their Shrieks or Intreaties, went to force her away; when *Icilius*, to whom ſhe was promiſed, came into the *Forum* with Rage and Fury in his Eyes. APPIUS, who was fearful of his Credit with the People, ordered a Lictor to bid him withdraw, and to tell him that the Affair was already judged. But *Icilius*, whoſe Paſſion made him regardleſs of Danger, being informed of APPIUS's baſe Deſigns, and looking upon him as a hated Rival: 'Thou ſhalt tear my 'Life from me, cried he to him, before thou 'ſhalt enjoy the Fruit of thy vile Artifices and 'inſupportable Tyranny. Is it not enough that 'thou haſt deprived us of the two ſtrongeſt Bul-'warks of our Liberty, the Protection of our 'Tribunes, and our Right of Appeal to the Aſſem-'bly of the People? Cannot the Honour of the '*Roman* Maids be ſafe from thee? Thou canſt 'not be to learn that VIRGINIA is betrothed to me. 'I expect to marry a Virgin and one Free-born; 'I will

Icilius's Speech againſt Appius.

'I will receive her from no Man's Hands but her 'Father's. If in his Absence any Attempt is made 'to do her Violence, I will implore the Aid of 'the *Roman* People for my Wife; *Virginius* will 'demand the Assistance of all his Fellow-Soldiers, 'for his Daughter; and both Gods and Men will 'be of our side. But tho' I had not a Man to 'assist me, Justice and virtuous Love will give me 'sufficient Power to prevent the Execution of thy 'unjust Sentence.

The People, equally moved with his Misfortune and his Courage, drive back *Claudius*, who takes Refuge at APPIUS's Feet. The Assembly was full of Disorder and Confusion. The Tumult increased by the Arrival of those that flocked to the *Forum* from all Parts of the City. The *Decemvir* fearing an open Revolt, thought fit to suspend the Execution of his Decree; and having caused Silence to be made: 'It is well known, said he, *Ici-* 'lius only wants an Opportunity of restoring the 'Tribuneship by means of a Sedition. But that he 'may have no Pretence of Complaint, I am willing 'to wait for *Virginius*'s return till to-morrow. Let 'his Friends take care to give him notice. It is not 'above four Hours Journey from hence to the Camp. 'I will prevail upon *Claudius* to yield up somewhat 'of his Right for the sake of the public Peace and 'Tranquility, and to let the Girl remain at liberty 'till the return of the Man she imagines to be her 'Father.

Claudius, feigning to admit, tho' unwillingly, of this Delay, requested at least that *Icilius* might give Security for producing VIRGINIA on the morrow. The People all round immediately held up their Hands, and every Man offered eagerly to be his Security. *Icilius* touched with the Affection of his Fellow-citizens, after having returned them Thanks: 'We will make use of your Assistance 'to-morrow, said he to them, if *Claudius* does

'not

'not desist from his unjust Pretensions. But for 'To-day, I hope they will be satisfied with my 'Security and that of all VIRGINIA's Relations.

APPIUS, tho' quite blinded by his Passion, durst not refuse such Security: But dreading *Virginius*'s Return, he privately dispatched a Messenger to his Colleagues who commanded the Army, begging them to arrest *Virginius* upon some Pretence or other; or at least not to give him leave in any wise to return to *Rome*. He thought that he not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good Colour deliver up his Daughter into *Claudius*'s Hands: But his Courier came to the Camp too late. *Numitorius*'s Son, and a Brother of *Icilius* had been beforehand with him, and had already given *Virginius* an Account of his Daughter's Danger; and that *Roman*, finding her Preservation depended upon his Return to *Rome*, had obtained Leave and was departed before the Arrival of APPIUS's Messenger. The *Decemvirs* had no sooner received his Letter, but they dispatch'd some Horsemen after him to stop him. APPIUS had placed some too with the same Design in the Road that led from the City to the Camp: But all these Precautions were ineffectual. *Virginius*, who foresaw them, went out of the common way, and came into *Rome* at a Gate directly contrary to that which went to the *Roman* Army.

He appeared next Day in the *Forum* pierced to the Heart with Grief, and leading in his Hand his Daughter all drowned in Tears. She was accompanied by her Kinswomen, who asked the People in the most melting Terms, whether it was fit that while so good a Citizen ventured his Life for the Defence of his Country, his Children shou'd be exposed to more barbarous Insults than if the City were fallen into the Hands of the Enemy. *Virginius* used almost the same Expressions to all

he met, and conjured them to take his Daughter into their Protection. *Icilius*, quite furious with Love and Resentment, inveighed loudly against Appius's Lust. But the Tears of *Virginia*, her Youth, her Innocence, her Beauty moved the Multitude more than all the Complaints and Intreaties of her Family.

Appius heard not without extream Surprise that *Virginius* was in the *Forum*, with his Friends and his whole Family. His Return broke all his Measures; and he feared with the Aid of the People he wou'd forcibly oppose the Execution of the Decree he had resolved upon. To secure himself
D.H. l. 11. against all Resistance, he ordered down from the Capitol the Troops that were lodged there under his Command, and they took possession of the *Forum*. He then repaired thither himself, and having seated himself in his Tribunal with that Emotion which his Impatience to compleat his Crime raised in him, he said he was not unacquainted with the Methods *Icilius* had used to inflame the People; but that he wou'd have them know he wanted neither Power nor Resolution to chastise those that shou'd dare to disturb the Public Peace: And thereupon he commanded *Claudius* to open his Demand, and proceed in his Action. *Claudius* then said, that no Body was to learn that the Children of Slaves belong'd to their Masters; that as such he challenged *Virginia*. He at the same time produced the Slave whom he had suborned, and who, out of fear of her Master, declared that she had sold Virginia to *Virginius*'s Wife. *Claudius* added, that he did not want for other Witnesses if there were Occasion, and that he had Hopes from the *Decemvir*'s Justice, that he wou'd not suffer himself to be moved by the Clamours and Threats of *Icilius*'s Adherents, nor to be worked upon by the Tears of a young Creature, whose Fate he must own deserved Compassion;

paſſion; but who being born in Servitude, ought to return to it, tho' ſhe had been educated like a free Perſon.

The Friends and Relations of *Virginius*, to deſtroy theſe Impoſtures, repreſented, that his Wife had had ſeveral Children, and that if upon her loſing them ſhe had been minded to introduce a Stranger into her Family, ſhe wou'd never have taken the Child of a Slave, and certainly not a Girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have choſen a Boy. That her Kinsfolks and Neighbours had ſeen her big of this Daughter; that the Child when it came into the World was received in the Hands of her Relations. That it was notorious her Mother *Numitoria* did herſelf give Suck to young VIRGINIA; which ſhe cou'd not have done had ſhe been Barren, as *Claudius* falſely alledged. That it was ſtrange that Impoſtor ſhou'd be ſo profoundly ſilent in ſuch an Affair for fifteen Years, and ſhou'd never declare his Pretenſions till the young Woman was grown up to that wonderful Beauty which was the Cauſe of the Perſecution ſhe then ſuffered.

APPIUS fearing this Argument wou'd make too great an Impreſſion upon the Multitude, interrupted him; pretending he had ſomething to ſay himſelf; and addreſſing his Speech to the Aſſembly, 'VIRGINIA's Friends, ſaid he, muſt not 'pretend to take advantage of *Claudius*'s long For-'bearance. For my Conſcience obliges me to 'declare, that I my ſelf have a long while ſince 'known of this Cheat. Every body knows that '*Claudius*'s Father, at his Death, left me Guar-'dian of his Son. Soon afterwards I was told, 'that as ſuch I ought to reclaim this young Slave 'as Part of the Succeſſion of my Ward and my 'Client, and I then heard the ſame Witneſſes as 'have given Teſtimony this Day. It is true, our 'Domeſtic Feuds, and the Hurry of Public Bu-

'ſineſs,

'sineſs, hindered me then from taking due care of 'that of a private Perſon; but the Poſt I am now 'in will not allow me to refuſe him the Juſtice 'which I owe to every Man: Therefore I decree 'that the Plaintiff take home this Girl as his 'Slave.

Virginius, provoked to the higheſt pitch at ſo unjuſt a Sentence, no longer kept any meaſures with the *Decemvir*. He made known to the whole Aſſembly, that he himſelf was the Contriver of the Impoſture, which his Client acted; and addreſſing his Speech to him; 'Know, Appius, 'ſaid he, I did not educate my Daughter to pro-'ſtitute her to thy infamous Pleaſures; I gave her 'to *Icilius*, and not to thee: Cou'dſt thou ima-Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. 'gine the *Romans* wou'd ſuffer their Wives and 'Daughters to be taken from them to ſatisfy the 'lewd Paſſion of a Tyrant?

The Multitude, at hearing this, raiſed a thouſand Clamours full of Indignation. Appius, almoſt mad to ſee his Crime diſcovered, commanded the Soldiers that ſurrounded his Tribunal to drive away the People. 'And you, ſaid he, turning to 'one of his Lictors, go, force a Paſſage through 'the Crowd, and make way for a Maſter to lay 'hold of his Slave.

The People, who always fear thoſe that do not fear them, finding themſelves attack'd by Appius's Soldiers, diſperſe, retire, and as it were deliver up *Virginius*'s Daughter to the *Decemvir*'s Paſſion. Then that unhappy Father, who ſees with Deſpair that Innocence is going to be oppreſſed with an unjuſt Power, deſires of the Magiſtrate, that before *Claudius* carries away his Daughter he may at leaſt be allowed to talk a Moment to her in private with her Nurſe; 'To the intent, ſaid 'he, that if I can diſcover ſome Token that I am 'not her Father, I may return to the Camp with 'leſs Grief and Concern.

Appius

APPIUS readily granted him this Requeſt, upon Condition however that it ſhou'd be in *Claudius*'s ſight, and without ſtirring out of the *Forum*. *Virginius*, pierced to the Heart with the ſharpeſt Affliction, takes his Daughter, half dead, in his Arms; he wipes away the Tears in which her Face was all bathed, embraces her, and drawing her near to ſome Shops which were on the ſide of the *Forum*, Chance directed him to a Butcher's Knife; he takes it, and ſpeaking to VIRGINIA, 'My dear Child, ſaid he, this is the only way to 'ſave thy Honour and thy Liberty:' With theſe Words he plunges the Knife into her Heart, and drawing it out again all ſmoaking with the Blood of his Daughter: 'It is with this innocent 'Blood, cried he to APPIUS, that I devote thy 'Head to the infernal Gods.' What People were left in the *Forum* run to this diſmal Sight, utter loud Shrieks, and deteſt the *Decemvir*'s Tyranny, which has reduced a Father to ſo cruel a Neceſſity. APPIUS, from his Tribunal, calls out, in the greateſt Fury that they ſhou'd ſeize *Virginius*. But he opens himſelf a Paſſage with the Knife which he had in his Hand; and being favoured by the Multitude, gets to the City Gate, and went directly to the Camp with part of his Friends and Relations, who wou'd not leave him in ſo great a Misfortune.

Virginius *kills his Daughter.*

Numitorius and *Icilius* ſtay by the Body of VIRGINIA, ſhew it to the Eyes of the Multitude, and beſeech them not to let her Death go unrevenged. Crowds flock to the *Forum* from all parts of the City. *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who had ſo undauntedly oppoſed the Continuation of the *Decemvirate*, come thither ſome of the firſt, with a great number of young *Patricians* of their Party. APPIUS, fearing their Credit and Eloquence, ſends them Orders to withdraw, and at the ſame time commands the Body of VIRGINIA to be removed from

from the *Forum*. But *Valerius* and *Horatius* oppose it. APPIUS, exasperated with the Death of VIRGINIA, and the Contempt which was shewn of his Orders, advances with his Lictors and Troops of his Guards to seize those two Senators. But the People, urged to Fury, drive him back, break the *Fasces* in pieces, pursue him himself as a Tyrant, so that to save his Life he was constrained to fly with his Face covered, and to hide himself in a neighbouring House.

Valerius *and* Horatius *stir up the People against the Tyrants.*

Valerius and *Horatius* place the Corpse of the unfortunate *Virginia* in an open Litter, and under pretence of carrying it back to her Father's House till the last Duties cou'd be paid to it, they shew it thro' the high Streets to stir up the Resentment of all the Citizens. Men and Women all run out of their Houses to see this Funeral Pomp; the Men throw Perfumes into the Litter; the Women and Maids, with Tears in their Eyes, put Garlands of Flowers on it. All bewail her Fate, and by those mournful Presents seemed to make a Vow to revenge her Death. The whole City wou'd have risen that Moment, had not *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who managed this Business, thought it more convenient, before they broke out, to see what *Virginius*'s Return wou'd produce in the Army of *Algidum*.

D.H.l.11.

Virginius *arrives at the Army.*

He entered the Camp, attended, as we said before, by part of his Friends, and holding still in his Hand the bloody Knife with which he had killed his Daughter. The Soldiers, having heard of his Misfortune, run about him from all sides; *Virginius* gets upon a small Eminence from whence he might the more easily be heard: His Face was drowned with Tears, and Grief for some time tyed his Tongue. At length breaking this mournful Silence, and raising his Hands to Heaven, 'I call you to witness, immortal Gods, said he, 'that APPIUS alone is guilty of the Crime I have 'been

'been forced to commit.' He then related with Tears, the Plot which the *Decemvir* had laid to get his Daughter; and addreſſing himſelf to the Soldiers, who heard him with great Compaſſion:
'I conjure you, my Fellow-Soldiers, ſaid he, do Liv. Dec.
'not drive me out of your Company as a Parri- 1. l. 3.
'cide and the Murderer of my Daughter. I wou'd
'with all my Heart, have ſacrificed my own Life
'to have preſerved hers, if ſhe cou'd have lived
'with her Honour and her Liberty. But finding
'the Tyrant only meant to make her a Slave that
'he might have an Opportunity to diſhonour
'her, Pity alone made me cruel: I rather choſe
'to loſe my Daughter, than keep her with Shame;
'but I wou'd not have outlived her one Moment,
'had I not hoped to revenge her Death by your
'Aſſiſtance.

All the Soldiers, deteſting ſo baſe an Action, aſſure him they will not fail him, if he undertook any thing againſt APPIUS. But their Centurions and the chief Leaders of Bands reſolved to extend their Reſentment to all the *Decemvirs*, and to ſhake off the Yoke of a Dominion that was unlawful, and now grew into open Tyranny. *The Army riſes.*

The *Decemvirs* that commanded the Army being inform'd of *Virginius*'s Return, and of the Diſpoſition of the People, ſent for him with Deſign to ſecure him. But his Friends hindered him from obeying their Orders, and the Soldiers being gathered together in Parties, their Officers made them ſo lively a Repreſentation of the Foulneſs of APPIUS's Attempt, that the Soldier wanted nothing but to return to *Rome* to deſtroy the *Decemvirs*. Nothing but the military Oath withheld them, and they thought they cou'd not leave their Enſigns and their Generals without offending the Gods, and diſhonouring themſelves. But *Virginius*, who burnt with Impatience to revenge himſelf of APPIUS, removed that Scruple, by aſſuring Ibid. l. 11.
them

them that their Oath bound them only to Generals invested with a lawful Authority; and that the first Obligation which a *Roman* lay under at his Birth, was to sacrifice his Life in Defence of the public Liberty. There needed no more to satisfy the Conscience of those Soldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of Fury to their Arms, took up their Ensigns, and under the particular Conduct of their Centurions, took the way to *Rome*. The *Decemvirs*, surprized at so general a Desertion, ran to stop them. But wherever they turned themselves, they found none but exasperated Spirits who breathed nothing but Vengeance. They reproached them with their Pride, their Avarice, the Deaths of *Siccius* and VIRGINIA, and with APPIUS's Lust, yet more intolerable than their Cruelty. The Soldier sternly tells them he is born free, and that he is going to *Rome* only to restore Liberty to his Fellow-Citizens.

Continuation of the Revolt.

The Army entered *Rome* about Evening, without making any Disturbance, and without so much as a Soldier's stirring out of his Rank. They contented themselves, as they pass'd by, with assuring their Friends and Relations that they were returned only to destroy Tyranny. All the Troops march'd quietly thro' the City to Mount *Aventine*, and were resolved not to separate till they had obtained the Deposal of the *Decemvirs*, and the Restoration of the Tribuneship.

APPIUS, terrified with Remorse of Conscience, and with this Revolt of the Army, durst not appear in public. But *Oppius*, his Colleague, who dreaded the Consequences of this Tumult, had then recourse to the Authority of the Senate; and contrary to the Custom of the *Decemvirs*, he convened it extraordinarily. Most of the Senators were not sorry for a Commotion which might help to re-establish the Government upon its ancient

cient Foundations. However as it was of dangerous Conſequence to let the People ſee that it was in their Power to do themſelves Juſtice, and in order to keep the ſupreme Authority ſtill in the Senate, they ſent to Mount *Aventine S. Tarpeïus*, *C. Julius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, all three Conſulars, who demanded of thoſe Soldiers ſeverely, by whoſe Command they had left their Camp and their Generals.

Thoſe Soldiers, perplex'd with this Queſtion, remained for ſome time in ſilence. At length they broke it, and cried out all together that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhou'd be ſent to them, and that they wou'd give them a true Account of their Conduct. Thoſe two Senators were the Men choſen, becauſe the Multitude looked upon them as the declared Enemies of the *Decemvirs*, and the moſt zealous Defenders of Liberty.

While the three Conſulars returned to the Senate, to give an account of this Anſwer of the Soldiers, *Virginius* put them in mind that their Intereſt was concerned to chuſe ſome of their Centurions to enter into Negotiation with the Commiſſioners they had demanded. He himſelf was immediately named the firſt; but he excuſed himſelf from accepting of that Commiſſion, by reaſon of the violent Sorrow with which he was oppreſſed, and which did not leave him ſufficient Liberty of Mind to maintain the publick Intereſts. The Army, upon his Refuſal, appointed ten other Centurions, and to do Honour to their Choice, they gave thoſe Officers the Title of military Tribunes.

Military Tribunes choſen.

The Army ſent againſt the *Sabines*, followed the Example of that of *Algidum*. *Numitorius* and *Icilius* had been there, and raiſed the ſame Tumult among them. All the Soldiers, having alſo firſt choſen Leaders to command them, marched Colours flying ſtrait to *Rome*, and joined the other Army.

Army. Tho' the Senate was not sorry to see the Authority of the *Decemvirs* abolish'd, yet besides that such a Desertion was of dangerous Example, the Frontiers were left exposed to the Incursions of the Enemies. Therefore *Valerius* and *Horatius* were hastened to Mount *Aventine* to bring the Soldiers back to their Duty. But those two Senators, finding their Mediation was become absolutely necessary, declared they wou'd not move a Step, so long as the *Decemvirs*, whom they call'd Usurpers, remained Masters of the Government.

Those Magistrates, on the contrary, alledged, That they cou'd not lay down their Dignity till they had published and passed the two last Tables of Laws which were to be added to the first ten, and that that was the only Term fixed for the Expiration of their Magistracy by the second Establishment which the Senate and People conjointly had made of it the preceding Year. *L. Cornelius*, yet a warm Stickler for the *Decemvirate*, even advised that no Negotiation should be entered into with the two Armies, till they were returned each to their former Camp, and that upon that Condition, the Soldiers shou'd be offered a general Pardon, out of which however the Authors of the Desertion shou'd be excepted.

But an Advice so imperious, and so very improper in the present Disposition of the Peoples Minds, was back'd by no Body. On the contrary, the *Decemvirs* were made sensible that they must absolutely renounce an Authority which was expired, and which the Senate and People were resolved not to continue them in. The Soldiers in Fury threatened even to constrain them to it by Force; and they went over to the *Mons Sacer*, as to a Place where their Ancestors had laid the first Foundations of the People's Liberty. Every Thing at *Rome* was in that Commotion which usually

precedes the greateſt Revolutions. At length the *Decemvirs*, fearing they ſhou'd be quite borne down by the multitude of their Enemies, promiſed in full Senate to depoſe themſelves; they only deſired that they might not be ſacrificed to the Hatred of their Enemies, and repreſented that it concerned the Senate not to accuſtom the People to ſhed the Blood of *Patricians*.

Mediation of Valerius *and* Horatius.

Valerius and *Horatius* having brought this Affair to the point they wanted, repaired to the Army; they were received by the Soldiers as their Protectors. The People demanded only the Reſtoration of their Tribunes, their Privilege of Appeal, and an Amneſty for all that had left their Camp without Permiſſion from their Generals. But firſt of all they obſtinately inſiſted that the *Decemvirs* ſhou'd be delivered into their Hands, and loudly threatened they wou'd burn them all alive.

Valerius and *Horatius* were not much more favourable to thoſe Magiſtrates than the People themſelves; but they proſecuted the Deſign of deſtroying them with more Art. At the ſame time that in general terms, they exhorted the whole Army not to be governed by cruel Thoughts, they cunningly inſinuated to the chief Leaders, that when the People were in Poſſeſſion again of their Rights, and when their Tribunes, their Laws and Aſſemblies were reſtored to them, they wou'd then have it in their power to do Juſtice to themſelves; and that before the Negotiation was out of their Hands, they hoped to enable them to diſpoſe uncontrolably of the Lives and Fortunes of their Fellow-Citizens, let their Quality be what it wou'd.

The People being ſatisfied by their Officers, that even their former Tribunes cou'd not have more Zeal and Warmth for their Intereſts than thoſe two Senators, truſted every thing to their Management. *Valerius* and *Horatius* returned im-

mediately to the Senate; and in the Account they gave in Public of the Demands of the People, omitted their Resentment and Threats against the *Decemvirs*. They even seemed to hint, that they consented, Every thing that had pass'd under their Government shou'd be buried in Oblivion, provided their Tribunes were restored to them. The *Decemvirs*, allured with these false Hopes, went into the *Forum*, where they publickly laid down their Authority. *Appius* alone, stung with remorse of Conscience, made a different Judgment of this seeming Moderation in the Army. Tho' he had deposed himself as well as the rest of his Colleagues, 'I am not ignorant, said he aloud, of 'the Mischiefs which are preparing for us. They 'only let alone attacking us till they have put 'Arms into the Hands of our Enemies.

The Decemvirate abolished.

Valerius and *Horatius*, without troubling themselves with his dismal Presages, ran to the Camp to acquaint the People with the Abdication of the *Decemvirs*, and the Senate's Decree for the Restoration of the Tribunes: 'Return, Soldiers, said 'they, to your Country; come once more and 'see your Domestic Gods, your Wives and Chil-'dren; and may this Return be happy and pro-'pitious to the Republic.' The Army gave them the most hearty Thanks, the Soldiers proclaimed them the People's Protectors, and the generous Defenders of the Public Liberty. They immediately take up their Ensigns, and exulting with Joy chuse the shortest way to *Rome*. But before they separated or returned to their Houses, the whole Army and People went to Mount *Aventine*, where they made Election of their Tribunes. *A. Virginius* the Father of the hapless VIRGINIA, *Numitorius* her Uncle, and *Icilius* to whom she was betrothed, were chosen first. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duillius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their Col-

The Tribunate and Consulate restored.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

Colleagues. An *Inter-Rex* was afterwards created, and, according to the Deſires of the People, named for Conſuls *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*; the Reward of their ſucceſsful Cares for the Reſtoration of the Public Tranquility. *Year of* Rome 304.

Their Conſulate was wholly popular, and the *Plebeians* obtained from them, what they durſt never have hoped from their very Tribunes themſelves. We have already ſeen that the *Patricians* and Senators pretended they were not ſubject to the Decrees of the People in Aſſemblies convened by Tribes. The People, on the contrary, maintained that the Sovereignty of the State lying eſſentially in the general Aſſembly of the *Roman* People, all the Citizens of every Rank whatſoever ought to be ſubject to it, ſince they had a Right to give their Votes in it, each in his Tribe. This Diſpute was often renewed between the two Orders of the Republic. The two Conſuls taking advantage of the abſolute Authority they had then in the Government, got this important Affair decided in the People's Favour, and by a Decree paſs'd in the *Comitia* of Centuries, it was declared, *That all Decrees made in the Comitia by Tribes ſhou'd have the Force of Laws with relation to all the Citizens.* *Divers Laws in favour of the People.*

The *Lex Valeria* touching Appeals to the Aſſembly of the People was confirmed a-new, and ſtrengthened with another, making it unlawful to eſtabliſh any Magiſtracy for the future, from whoſe Judgments an Appeal ſhou'd not lye to that Aſſembly. The Conſuls added to this Law a Regulation importing, that the *Senatusconſulta*, which were often ſuppreſs'd or alter'd by the Conſuls, ſhou'd for the future be tranſmitted to the *Ædiles*, and preſerved in the Temple of *Ceres*. Moſt of the Senators ſubſcribed to theſe various Regulations not without Repugnance. They ſaw with grief that two *Patricians* and Conſuls, more *The* Senatusconſulta *lodg'd and preſerv'd in the Temple of* Ceres.

Plebeian than the Tribunes themselves, under pretence of securing their Liberty, were absolutely ruining the Authority of the Senate. But the more equitable and less ambitious part of that Body, grown wiser by the Tyrannical Conduct of the *Decemvirs*, chose rather to give the Guardianship of the Public Liberty to the People, than to intrust it to the Men of Power who by their Credit might have an Opportunity of making a wrong Use of it.

The Republic by these several Regulations, and the Re-establishment of her old Magistrates, having resumed her ancient Form of Government, there was now in a manner nothing left of the *Decemvirate* but the Persons of the *Decemvirs*. We have already seen how odious they were to the Multitude: *Virginius* thought this a good time to prosecute them; and in quality of Tribune of the People, he brought an Impeachment against APPIUS, and declared himself his Accuser. APPIUS came before the Assembly habited in Black, suitable to the present Condition of his Fortune. The People beheld with Pleasure that haughty *Decemvir* with a dejected Countenance, in the very same Place, where but a few Days before he appeared surrounded by his Guards, and proudly awing the Multitude with the Terror of his Lictors armed with their Axes.

Appius *accus'd.*

Liv. l. 3. D.H. l. 11. Diod. l. 12.

Virginius addressing his Speech to the Assembly, 'I accuse, said he, O *Romans*, a Man who made 'himself the Tyrant of his Country; who obliged you to have recourse to Arms to defend your 'Liberty; who to satisfy his infamous Lust, was 'not ashamed to tear a *Roman* Maid of free Condition out of her Father's Arms, to deliver her 'over to the vile Minister of his Pleasures, and 'who by a Sentence no less Unjust than Cruel, 'reduced a Father to the Extremity of Killing 'his own Daughter to save her Honour.' Then turning

turning to APPIUS, he told him, that without expatiating upon a Relation of all his Crimes, the very leaſt of which deſerved the higheſt Puniſhments, he only demanded what he had to ſay for the Sentence he gave againſt VIRGINIA: 'Why 'ſaid he, did you refuſe a Maid of free Condi-'tion her Liberty proviſionally, while it was 'yet in diſpute? If you cannot anſwer me, I 'command that you be immediately carried to 'Priſon.

APPIUS repreſented, that a Perſon accuſed had never been denied the Delays neceſſary to provide for his Defence; that it was a thing unheard of in the Republic, that any Citizen ſhou'd be impriſoned before he had been heard in a full Aſſembly; and that if the Tribune, contrary to all Laws, pretended to arreſt him, he appealed from him to the People; and that their Conduct towards him wou'd one Day ſerve as a Teſtimony to Poſterity, whether the Appeals about which the People ſeemed ſo jealous, were not only the Appearance of a Privilege, ſubject to the Cabals and Brigues of the Tribunes, or whether they were to be looked upon as the unſhakable Supports of Liberty.

Moſt unprejudiçed Men thought this Demand but reaſonable: But *Virginius* maintained that APPIUS was the only Perſon who ought not to enjoy the Benefit of the Laws, which he himſelf had violated in his *Decemvirate*. He accuſed him, that without regard to the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, he had put many of them to Death; that he had impriſoned others; that he had even built new Priſons, which he uſed, with a barbarous Irony, to call the Houſes and Abodes of the *Roman* People. 'Thus, ſaid *Virginius* to him, tho' you appeal a 'hundred times over to the People, I order that 'you be arreſted, for fear ſo many heinous Crimes 'ſhou'd eſcape the Juſtice of the Laws.' Accordingly he was that minute led to Priſon, and the Tribune

bune appointed him a Day for producing his Defence.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. His Uncle, *C. Claudius*, who had always been againſt the *Decemvirs*, and who had particularly deteſted the Pride and Inſolence of his Nephew, ran however to his Aid as ſoon as ever he heard of his Diſgrace. We have already ſaid, that to avoid being an Eye-witneſs of the Tyrannical Government of the *Decemvirs*, and of the Miſeries of *Rome*, he had retired to *Regillus*, the ancient Country of his Anceſtors. He was no ſooner come to *Rome*, but he appeared in the *Forum* in a Habit of Mourning, and made ſtrong Solicitations for his Nephew's Liberty. His Friends and Relations joined with him in it, and reminded the People, that it wou'd be a Shame to themſelves in future Ages, that the Man who had framed their Laws and compoſed the *Roman* Juriſprudence, had been buried in a Dungeon with Villains and Robbers. *Claudius* beſought every Man particularly not to fix ſuch an Ignominy upon the *Claudian* Family; but rather to grant one ſingle Man to ſo many illuſtrious Citizens of the ſame Name and Blood who begg'd him, than to refuſe almoſt the whole Senate, for the ſole ſake of *Virginius*. He added, that the People having fortunately recovered their Liberty by their Courage, there was now nothing wanting to the Happineſs of the Republick, but the reſtoring a Union among the ſeveral Orders of the State, which wou'd be beſt done by Clemency, and by forgiving APPIUS for the ſakes of thoſe who begg'd his Pardon.

Appius's *Death.* *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that the Tribunes fearing APPIUS wou'd eſcape them by the Intereſt of his Family, cauſed him to be ſtrangled in Priſon, and then gave out, that that famous Criminal deſpairing of Mercy, had killed himſelf before the Day appointed for his Tryal. *Livy*, without mentioning a Word of the Tribunes, bare-

barely relates that APPIUS, to avoid the Infamy of a Public Puniſhment, put an end to his own Life in Priſon. Be it as it will, *Sp. Oppius*, his Colleague, had the ſame Fate. *Numitorius*, another Tribune of the People, and *Virginia*'s Uncle, proſecuted him as the Accomplice and Aſſiſtant of APPIUS. Beſides theſe Articles, a *Veteran* Soldier complained, that without the leaſt Cauſe he had ordered his Back to be torn with Whips by his *Satellites*. That *Decemvir* was condemn'd by the unanimous Suffrages of the People; he was thrown into Priſon, and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us he was there executed the very ſame Day. The other eight *Decemvirs* ſought their Safety in Flight, and baniſhed themſelves. Their Effects were confiſcated and ſold publicly, and the Produce carried by the Quæſtors into the Public Treaſury. *Marcus Claudius*, the Inſtrument that APPIUS made uſe of to get *Virginia* into his Power, was condemned to Death. But he had Friends who prevail'd with *Virginius* to be contented with his Exile.

Thus, was Revenge taken for the innocent Blood of the unfortunate *Virginia*, whoſe Death, like that of *Lucretia*, procured the *Roman* People their Liberty a ſecond time.

Tho' the Puniſhment of the *Decemvirs* was owned to be juſt; yet the Senate cou'd not help being under ſome Conſternation at the Death and Exile of the chief Men of their Body. They were eſpecially diſpleaſed with the two Conſuls, who had given them up to *Virginius*'s Reſentment, without ſhewing the leaſt Inclination to ſoften the People in their behalf. Neither was it poſſible to foreſee what Bounds the Tribunes, who were ſo cloſely united with the two Conſuls, wou'd put to their Revenge: They ſeemed to be ſo many new *Decemvirs*, that had a Deſign to bring in the like Tyranny again. *Duillius*, who

was one of that College, but more moderate, diſpelled the Fears of the Senate: 'At length, ſays 'he in a full Aſſembly, enough has been done for 'the Satisfaction of *Virginius*, and the Reſtora-'tion of our Liberty. I FORBID that du-'ring the reſt of the Year any more People be 'brought to Juſtice, or thrown into Priſon, for 'this Affair.' This Word *I forbid*, ſo awful in the Mouth of a Tribune, put a Stop to the Proſecutions of his Colleagues, and repreſſed their Violence.

End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

The two Conſuls, Valerius *and* Horatius, *obtain from the People the Honour of the Triumph which the Senate had refuſed them. The Tribunes form a Deſign of making themſelves perpetual. One of them hinders the Execution of it. Two* Patricians *are now firſt ſeen among the Tribunes. The* Æqui *and* Volſci, *taking Advantage of the Diviſions that rage in* Rome, *plunder the Country to the very Gates of that City. They are routed and cut to Pieces by the Conſuls* Quintius *and* Agrippa.

Military

Military Tribunes and Censors established. Spurius Melius *aspires to the Sovereign Power. In a public Dearth he wins the meaner sort of People by free Distributions of Corn, and some of their Tribunes by Money. He causes a great Quantity of Arms to be brought into his House by Night. His Designs are found out. Refusing to appear before the Dictator* Quintius, *he is run through with a Sword by* Ahala *General of the Horse, in the midst of a Band of his Adherents, whom he was stirring up to a Revolt.* Mamercus Æmilius *being Dictator, proposes a Law for restraining the Office of Censor to one Year and a half.* C. Furius *and* M. Geganius, *the Censors for that Year, revenge themselves upon the Dictator by trying to dishonour him. The People take his part. The Consuls,* T. Quintius *and* C. Julius Mento, *are beaten by the* Æqui *and* Volsci. *The Senate applies to the Tribunes of the People to get them to cause a Dictator to be named.* C. Sempronius Atratinus *brings the whole* Roman *Army into danger of being cut to Pieces. An Officer of Horse named* Tempanius *succours the Consul in time, and prevents the Defeat.* Tempanius, *at his return to* Rome, *is raised to the Tribuneship. He publickly undertakes the Defence of* Sempronius, *and prevails upon his Accuser to desist from the Prosecution he had begun against him. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards that Consular is condemned to a heavy Fine thro' the Cabals of some Tribunes of the People, exasperated, that in the Election for Quæstors, whose Number was increased, the* Patricians *had been preferred to the* Plebeians. *The* Æqui *surprize the Town of* Vola. Posthumius *is employed to drive them out of it again. He breaks his word with his Soldiers, to whom he had promised the Plunder of the Town as soon as it shou'd be taken. To make them amends, a Tribune of the People demands, that a Colony shou'd be settled at* Vola,

composed

compoſed of thoſe very People that had help'd to retake the Town. A haughty Saying of Poſthumius. *He is killed by his own Soldiers.* Plebeian *Quæſtors. The Senate make a Decree that the Soldiery, who till then had ſerved at their own Expence, ſhou'd for the future be maintained by the Republic; and that, in order to defray this Charge, an Impoſition ſhou'd be laid, from which no Body ſhou'd be excuſed. This* Senatusconſultum *is ratified by a* Plebiſcitum, *notwithſtanding all the Complaints and Proteſtations of the Tribunes.*

THE two Conſuls prepared to march againſt the *Sabines*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci*. But before they departed from *Rome*, they publickly expoſed the laſt Laws of the *Decemvirs* engraved upon Tables of Braſs. They then put themſelves each at the Head of his Army. Both obtained compleat Victories over the Enemy. At their return they demanded, according to Cuſtom, to have ſolemn Thanks paid to the Gods, and then to be received at *Rome* in Triumph. But moſt of the Senators, who cou'd not forgive them the Partiality they had ſhewn to the People, took a ſecret Delight in refuſing them an Honour, which till then had always depended entirely upon the Senate. *C. Claudius* even upbraided them with being Accomplices in the Death of his Nephew *Appius*, whom the Tribunes had cauſed to be ſtrangled in Priſon before he was ſo much as heard in his Defence. 'Did you not ſo-'lemnly promiſe us, ſaid he to them, that the Ab-'dication of the *Decemvirs* ſhou'd be follow'd by 'a general Pardon? And yet no ſooner had we o-'bliged thoſe Magiſtrates to depoſe themſelves, but 'ſome were murdered, and others conſtrained to 'baniſh themſelves from their Country to ſave 'their Lives. *Appius*, the Head of the *Claudian* 'Family,

The Senate refuſes the Honours of the Triumph to the victorious Conſuls.

D. H. ſub fin. l. 11.

'Family, the chief of the *Decemvirs*, was ſtrang-
'led in Priſon, without the leaſt Form of Juſtice,
'and without ſo much as being heard in the As-
'ſembly of the People, for fear that generous
'People, moved with the Tears and with the
'Deſolation of a Family that has deſerved ſo well
'of the Republic, ſhou'd grant him a Diſcharge.
'And our Conſuls, the Heads and Protectors of
'the Senate, they who ought to expoſe their
'very Lives for the Preſervation of its Dignity,
'have baſely connived at the Murder of the un-
'fortunate *Appius*, and proſecuted no body for it.

The Senate, exaſperated againſt the Conſuls by the Diſcourſe of *C. Claudius*, declared them unworthy of the Honours of the Triumph, and they were given to underſtand that it was very well for them they were not puniſhed for their criminal Intelligence with *Appius*'s Murderers. VALERIUS and HORATIUS, provoked at ſo ignominious a Refuſal, carried their Complaints before the Aſſembly of the People, and the Tribune *Icilius* there demanded the Triumph in their behalf. Many Senators went to the *Forum* to prevent the Effects of this Cabal, and *C. Claudius* was one of them. Tho' he had always been averſe to the Government of the *Decemvirs*, yet he cou'd never pardon the two Conſuls for having delivered up his Nephew to the Fury of the Tribunes. He told the People, with great Courage and Boldneſs, that it was never known they ſhou'd take Cognizance or decide about the Honours of the Triumph; that it was a Prerogative which belong'd entirely to the Senate, and that the Republic wou'd never be free and quiet any longer than while one Order of the State forbore to incroach upon the Rights and Privileges of the other.

The People grant the Triumph to the Conſuls.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

But notwithſtanding the Juſtice of theſe Remonſtrances, the People decreed the Triumph to the

the Conſuls: A new Enterprize of the Tribunes upon the Senate's Authority. They did not ſtop here. Thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, who by their good Underſtanding with the two Conſuls, had an abſolute Power in the Commonwealth, reſolved to perpetuate themſelves in the Tribunate, and to continue the two Conſuls in their Poſt: Another Conſpiracy againſt the Public Liberty, little different from that of the *Decemvirs*. They covered their Ambition with the Pretence of the Neceſſity there was of keeping in the ſame Magiſtrates, at a time when the new Laws were not yet ſolidly eſtabliſhed. But to remove the Suſpicion that their Aim was to make themſelves ſole Maſters of the Government, they inſinuated to the People, that they wou'd alſo have them continue VALERIUS and HORATIUS in the Conſulate. By good Fortune for the Republic, there happened to be a Tribune of ſo much Moderation and Ability, as to bring this ambitious Project to nothing. It was the ſame *Duillius* that had lately by his Authority put a ſtop to the Proſecution of his Colleagues againſt the Adherents of the *Decemvirs*. He preſided that Day in the Aſſembly held for the Election of new Tribunes. He repreſented to the two Conſuls, that the People's Liberty was gone, if the High Offices of the Republic were truſted above a Year in the ſame Hands. VALERIUS and HORATIUS gave him their word, that they wou'd never accept of a Continuance in the Conſulate. *Duillius*, to make the more ſure of them, asked them publickly, and in a full Aſſembly, what Reſolution they wou'd take if the *Roman* People, in conſideration of their good Services in the Reſtoration of their Liberty, ſhou'd think fit to continue them in their Dignity. Both of them declared, that for the Preſervation of the ſame Liberty, they wou'd refuſe any Prolongation of the ſovereign Power, as being contrary to the Laws. *Duillius* having got this

The Tribunes are for perpetuating themſelves.

The Conſuls refuſe to be continued.

Year of Rome 305.

this Declaration from them, gave them Praiſes for their Diſintereſtedneſs, which were a kind of new Tie upon them, and at the ſame time ſerved to prejudice the People againſt the Deſigns of the other Tribunes. Some Days afterwards the Aſſembly was held for the Election of new Conſuls. *Sp. Herminius* and *T. Virginius* were raiſed to that Office. They maintained Peace and Union in the Commonwealth, by a prudent Impartiality between the People and the Senate. They then proceeded to the Election of the Tribunes. *Duillius*, as we have ſaid before, preſided in that Aſſembly, and upon this occaſion acted in concert with the Senate. By means of their Credit and the Union of their Followers, five new Tribunes were immediately choſen, in ſpite of the Cabals of the old ones. Theſe latter uſed all their Endeavours to fill up at leaſt the other five vacant Places. *Duillius* ſtill oppoſed it with great Reſolution; but as they on their ſide, by their Management hindered the new Candidates from having the neceſſary number of Voices, *Duillius* to put an end to theſe Conteſts, referred the Choice and Nomination of the other five Tribunes, to the five already choſen, according to the Direction of the Law, which expreſly provided, that *If upon a Day of Election the full number of Tribunes cou'd not be choſen, thoſe who were elected firſt ſhou'd have Power to name their Colleagues.* He then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, depoſed himſelf, and the new Tribunes entered upon the Exerciſe of their Dignity.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

Two Patrician *Tribunes.*

Their firſt Buſineſs was to name their Colleagues, among whom every Body was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Haterius*, both *Patricians*, old Senators, and even Conſulars; which was directly contrary to the Inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip, which admitted none but *Plebeians*. There is no accounting for ſo extraordinary an Event,

Event, unleſs we will look upon thoſe two *Patricians* as Deſerters from their Order, that had got themſelves adopted into *Plebeian* Families to capacitate them to be raiſed to a Magiſtracy which had the greateſt ſhare in the Government. But this is only a Conjecture; Hiſtory gives us no Authority for it. *Livy*, on the contrary, inſinuates that the five firſt Tribunes followed the Intentions of the Senate in the choice of their Colleagues: And perhaps Men of their Prudence foreſeeing what fatal Conſequences muſt follow to the public Liberty, if the ſame Tribunes were perpetuated in their Office, privately joined with *Duillius* to get ſome *Patricians* into the Tribuneſhip, with intent to counterbalance the Power of the *Plebeian* Tribunes by their Authority, and in the Election for the enſuing Year keep them from renewing the Propoſal of continuing the Tribunes in their Poſts: which was looked upon as a ſtep to Tyranny, and the Deſtruction of the Liberty of the Republic.

L. Trebonius, one of the *Plebeian* Tribunes, who plainly found that his Predeceſſor *Duillius* had diſſolved the Aſſembly, and referred to the firſt five Tribunes the Nomination of their Colleagues, only to make way for introducing *Patricians* into that College, made heavy Complaints of it to the People. He gave himſelf entirely up, during the whole Year, to croſs thoſe *Patrician* Tribunes in their Functions, whence he acquired the Sirname of **Aſper*. And in order to prevent for the future, any Tribunes, (gained over by the Senate) to do the like again, he propoſed a Law which he got paſſed, and which from his Name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, that the Magiſtrate who propoſed the Election of Tribunes to the People, ſhou'd be obliged to proſecute it in all the following Aſſemblies, till the Number of ten Tribunes was compleated by the Votes of the People. *The* Trebonian *Law.* **Sour.* Livy, l. 3. c. 65.

People. This Decree took from the Tribunes that were first chosen, the Right of naming their Colleagues themselves, which the *Romans* in those Days called *Co-optatio*.

Year of Rome 306. *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius*, succeeded *L. Herminius* and *T. Virginius* in the Consulate. *Livy* informs us, that after the Extinction of the Decemvirate, and the Death or Expulsion of the *Decemvirs*, the Republic enjoyed a seeming Tranquility, and the Union which appeared among the several Orders of the State kept the Neighbours of *Rome* in Awe, and hindered them from renewing their usual Incursions. But this Calm did not hold long. The People fell again to complaining that the Nobility, and especially the young *Patricians*, treated them contemptuously. Their Tribunes cited some of them before the Assembly of the People, into which they strove to bring the Cognizance of all Affairs whatsoever. The Senate, to maintain their Authority, opposed it stifly: And tho' the wiser part of that Body did not approve this haughty Behaviour of the young Nobility, yet they wou'd not give them up to the Persecution of the Tribunes. This Opposition, on account of the Jurisdiction and Privileges of each Order, revived the old Dissentions, which ran very high in the Consulate of *T. Quintius* and *Agrippa Furius*. It was still the same Spring of Animosity, which upon every Occasion broke out afresh. Neither of those two Orders cou'd bear the Thoughts either of Magistrates or Authority in the contrary Party. If the Consuls were formidable to the People, the Tribunes were no less odious to the *Patricians*; and neither of those two Bodies thought they cou'd be free till they had pull'd down the other.

New Contentions between the Tribunes and the Senate.

Year of Rome 307.

The *Æqui* and *Volsci*, informed of these Domestic Contentions, thought it now their time to

to begin their old Ravages, and took up Arms. The Conſuls on their ſide prepared to raiſe Troops. But the People, at the Inſtigation of the ſeditious Tribunes, refuſed to liſt themſelves. The Enemy, meeting with no Obſtacle, plundered the Country, and carried their Boldneſs ſo far as to bear off the Cattle that were grazing near the *Æſquiline* Gate.

The two Conſuls, yet more provoked at the People's Diſobedience than the Audaciouſneſs of the Enemy, convened a general Aſſemby. QUINTIUS, a Man illuſtrious for ſeveral Victories, reſpected for the Purity of his Manners and the Wiſdom of his Counſels, and who had been honoured with four Conſulates, ſtood up, and courageouſly told both the Senate and the People, that their eternal Diſſentions wou'd at length occaſion the total Deſtruction of the Republic. That the Senate preſuming too much upon their Dignity and Wealth wou'd ſet no Bounds to their Authority, nor the People to an unbridled Licenſe, which they cloathed with the Name of Liberty; and that each defended themſelves againſt the Injuries which they pretended to be done them, only by greater Outrages. Quintius *the Conſul reproaches the People.*

'One wou'd think, con-
'tinued that great Man, that *Rome* holds within
'her Walls two different Nations contending
'with each other for the Command. When ſhall
'we ſee an end of this Diſcord? When ſhall we
'have one Intereſt, and one common Country?
'The Enemies are at our Gates: The *Eſquiliæ*
'was upon the very point of being ſurpriſed,
'and No-body ſtands up to oppoſe them. From
'the top of our Walls we behold our Country
'laid waſte, and our Houſes in Flames and ſmoak-
'ing all round us: And we ſee all this with a
'ſhameful Indifference, nay perhaps with a ſe-
'cret Pleaſure, when the Miſchief falls upon
'the contrary Party. What is there in the City

'ſufficient to repair ſuch Loſſes? The Senate 'indeed ſees at its Head Conſuls, and the prime 'Magiſtrates of the Republic; but thoſe Conſuls 'without Forces and without Authority, groan 'at the People's Inſenſibility to their Country's 'Glory. That People on their part have Tri-'bunes; but can thoſe Tribunes with all their 'Harangues ever reſtore them what they have 'loſt? Extinguiſh, O *Romans*, theſe fatal Divi-'ſions; generouſly break this curſed Inchantment 'which keeps you buried in a ſcandalous Inaction. 'Open your Eyes, and conſider the Management 'of thoſe ambitious Men, who to make them-'ſelves powerful in their Party, ſtudy nothing 'but how they may foment Diviſion in the Com-'monwealth. And if you yet can call to mind 'your ancient Valour, march out of *Rome* with 'your Conſuls, and I devote my Head to the moſt 'cruel Puniſhments, if in a few Days I do not 'drive away thoſe that plunder your Lands, and 'remove the War into the very Heart of their 'Country.

Dec. 1. l. 3. c. 69.

Never, ſays *Livy*, were the People more pleaſed even with the flattering Speeches of a Tribune, than they were with the ſevere Reproaches of this generous Conſul. The Senate was touch'd with them no leſs; the moſt virtuous Men of that Body confeſſed, that thoſe who had preceded him in that Dignity had either miſuſed the People, to make themſelves agreeable to the Senate, or elſe betrayed the Intereſts of their own Body to win Favour of the People; but that T. QUINTIUS appeared to have nothing at all at Heart but the Union of all the Orders, and the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name.

The Conſuls beat the Æqui and Volſci.

The Conſuls and Tribunes, the Senate and People concurred unanimouſly in taking Arms. The Contention now was, which ſhou'd appear moſt forward. All the Youth offered themſelves in Crowds

Crowds to be inliſted. The Levies were quickly made; each Cohort choſe its Officers, and two Senators were ſet at their Head; and all this was done with ſo much Diligence and Expedition, that that very Day the Enſigns were taken out of the Treaſury and the Army marched ten Miles on their way. The Conſuls next Day met and ſurprized the Enemy at unawares. The Fight however proved to be bloody; the *Æqui* and *Volſci* fought with great Valour; the left Wing of the *Romans* gave ground. FURIUS AGRIPPA, who led that Body, finding the Heat of his Soldiers began to cool, ſnatched an Enſign from an Officer that bore it, and threw it into the middle of a Cohort of the Enemies. The *Romans* flew into the midſt of them to recover it, and thereby put the Enemy into Diſorder, and gave the firſt Turn to the Battel. QUINTIUS had been no leſs ſucceſsful than his Colleague. The *Æqui* and *Volſci*, beaten on both ſides, retired into their Camp. The Conſuls inveſted it, and forced it Sword in hand. A great Number of *Æqui* and *Volſci* were cut to pieces; the reſt fled. The *Romans*, now left ſole Maſters of the Camp, found a great Booty in it, and then returned to *Rome* laden with the Enemy's Spoils, and with thoſe which they had got in the Territory of *Rome*.

A Victory ſo ſudden made the People ſenſible of their own Strength, and the Need which the Senate had of them: This made their Ambition and their Pretenſions greater than ever. They grew every Day more untractable and more enterprizing. Thoſe who had acquired Wealth, or diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Valour, demanded to have the Law ſo injurious to the People for prohibiting all Inter-marriage between them and *Patrician* Families aboliſhed, as a Remnant of the Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*. The Tribunes, ever turbulent, revived the Affair of the Partition of the Lands; others publickly averred, that ſince

New Claims of the Plebeians.

Laws had been eſtabliſhed equal in reſpect to all the Citizens, the Offices ought alſo to be common to them all; and many of the Heads of the People already ſet their Eyes upon the Conſulſhip itſelf, which till then had been reſerved to the firſt Order. Nine of the Tribunes propoſed in a full Aſ-
D.H.l.11. Liv. l. 4. ſembly, that a new Law ſhou'd be made to admit *Plebeians* into the Conſulſhip for the future. *C. Canuleïus* at the ſame time demanded, that by a Decree of the People that Law in the twelve Tables ſhou'd be revoked, which forbad the *Patricians* from intermarrying with *Plebeian* Families. *M. Genucius* and *Caïus Curtius*, who were Conſuls that Year, tried to keep off theſe new Propoſals, under pretence they had received Advice, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were preparing to renew the War. Theſe foreign Wars were the Senate's uſual Expedients; and they hardly ever had Peace with their own Citizens, but when they had them out of *Rome*, and were fighting abroad with the Enemies of their Country. The two Conſuls, in this view, order Levies to be made, and proclaim that every Man be ready with his Arms. But *Canuleïus* plainly ſaw the Artifice. 'Whether the

Canuleïus's Speech againſt the diſtinction between the Nobles and the Commons.

'News of this War be true, ſaid he, directing 'his Speech to the Conſuls, or whether it be on-'ly a falſe Rumour ſpread abroad for nothing but 'a Colour to draw the People out of the City: 'I declare, as Tribune, that this People, who 'have already ſo often ſpilt their Blood in our 'Country's Cauſe, is again ready to follow their 'Conſuls and their Generals, if they are reſtored 'to their Liberty, and to that natural Right of 'being allowed to unite themſelves with you by 'mutual Alliances; and if the hope of Honours, 'and the entrance into the chief Offices be o-'pen indifferently to all the Citizens of Merit. 'But if you perſiſt in your Reſolution of main-'taining the Law of the *Decemvirs* touching

'Mar-

'Marriages; if you continue to treat us like 'Strangers, in our own Country; if you account 'the People unworthy of your Alliance, and if 'you refuſe them the Privilege of raiſing to the 'Conſulate ſuch as they judge moſt worthy, with-'out obliging them to confine their Choice only 'to the Senate; in a word, if you do not remove 'the Diſtinction of Nobles and *Plebeians*, ſo odi-'ous in a Commonwealth; and if there be any 'other Nobility for the future, but what is due to 'Virtue honoured with Magiſtracies common to 'all the Citizens: Talk of Wars as much as ever 'you pleaſe; paint in your ordinary Diſcourſes the 'League and Power of our Enemies ten times 'more dreadful than you do now, order your Tri-'bunal, if you think fit, to be brought into the '*Forum* in order to make Levies; I declare that 'this People whom you ſo much deſpiſe, and to 'whom you are nevertheleſs obliged for all your 'Victories, ſhall never more inliſt themſelves; 'not a Man ſhall appear to take Arms, and you 'ſhall never more find a *Plebeian* that will expoſe 'his Life for imperious Maſters, who are glad to 'aſſociate us with themſelves in the Dangers of 'War, but who in Peace think to exclude us 'from the Rewards due to Valour, and from the 'ſweeteſt Fruits of Victory.

The Conſuls were the more alarmed at the Tribune's Boldneſs, becauſe they durſt not call the Senate, in which the People had their declared Favourers, who gave the Tribune an Account of every thing that paſt. So that thoſe two Magiſtrates were forced to hold particular Councils with the Senators of their Party. They repreſented, that it was impoſſible to bear any longer with the Enterprizes of the Tribunes, and that they muſt reſolve either to ſuppreſs the Senate or aboliſh that popular Magiſtracy, the Source of eternal Contentions between the Senate and the

People. *C. Claudius* the *Decemvir*'s Uncle, and who had received from his Anceſtors, as it were by Succeſſion, an hereditary Hatred to the Faction of the People, ſpoke firſt, and gave it as his Opinion, that they ſhou'd rather have recourſe even to Arms, than yield the Dignity of the Conſulſhip to the People, and that without Diſtinction either of private Men or Magiſtrates, they ought to treat as Public Enemies all that ſhou'd go about to change the Form of the Government. But *T. Quintius*, who was more moderate, and who apprehended theſe Conteſts might be inflamed into a Civil War, remonſtrated, that there were among the *Plebeians* a great many Officers of extraordinary Merit, who had acquired great Glory in the Wars. That it was but reaſonable to give ſome Satisfaction to ſo generous a People, and that it was indeed but common Prudence in the Senate in this conjuncture to give up part of its Prerogatives to ſave the reſt.

The Majotity of the Aſſembly declared themſelves of his Opinion. *C. Claudius* riſing up again: 'I yield, ſaid he, to Plurality of Voices; 'but ſince you think it proper to admit *Plebeians* 'into the Government, let us endeavour to ſatiſ- 'fy this reſtleſs People, without however deba- *Origin of the Military Tribunes.* 'ſing the Majeſty of the Conſulſhip. And in 'order to reconcile two things that ſeem ſo op- 'poſite, I propoſe that inſtead of Conſuls, we 'elect ſuch a Number of *Military Tribunes* as 'ſhall be agreed upon, to be choſen equally out D.H.l.11. 'of the Senate and the People, who ſhall be in- 'veſted with the Conſular Power. The People 'by this means will be ſatisfied; and the Conſu- 'late in more favourable Times may reſume its 'ancient Splendor and Majeſty.' Great Praiſes were given to *Claudius*, and all joined in the Pro- *The Policy of* C. Claudius. poſal. Then that ancient Senator addreſſing his Speech to *M. Genutius*, firſt Conſul: 'In order 'to

'to ſucceed in this Deſign, ſaid he, convene the 'Senate, ſend for the Tribunes of the People; 'and when the Aſſembly is form'd, declare that 'you invite all who love their Country to ſpeak 'their Minds freely with relation to the new 'Laws which the People demands. Then gather 'the Opinions; and inſtead of beginning with '*T. Quintius*, my ſelf, or the moſt ancient Sena-'tors, according to cuſtom, grant that Honour 'to *Valerius* and *Horatius*, as you have a Right to 'do as Conſul: And by that means we ſhall learn 'the Sentiments of thoſe Favourers of the Peo-'ple, who have ſold their Faith to the Tribunes. 'I then will ſtand up and anſwer what they ſay, 'which I will do without ſparing them, and 'with all my Might oppoſe the Abolition of the 'Law of Marriages and the Election of a *Ple-'beian* to be Conſul. Then ask the Opinion of 'your Brother, *T. Genutius*, and let that wiſe Se-'nator, under pretence of trying to reconcile the 'different Intereſts of the People, and the Senate, 'propoſe as of his own Motion to ſuſpend the 'Election of Conſuls, and in their ſtead to create 'Military Tribunes, and let him include in his 'Advice the Abolition of the Law relating to Mar-'riages. I will oppoſe this as much as the other, 'but you and your Colleague, and all You the 'chief of the Senate, out of ſeeming Favour to 'the People, ſhall declare for the Advice of your 'Brother. The People ſhall be obliged to your 'Family for this Conceſſion, and the Tribunes 'will infallibly join in with you, if for nothing 'but to triumph over my Oppoſition.'

All approved of this Expedient; each agreed upon the part he ſhou'd act; the Conſuls aſſembled the Senate, and deſired *Canuleïus* and the other Tribunes to be at it. The Day being come, and the Aſſembly formed, *Canuleïus*, inſtead of laying forth the Juſtice and Uſefulneſs of the Laws he D.H. l. 11.

propoſed, ran wholly into bitter Complaints againſt the two Conſuls, for holding ſecret Councils, in prejudice of the People's Intereſts, without calling to them the beſt Men in the Senate, and eſpecially *Valerius* and *Horatius* who had done ſo great a Service to the Republic in the Abolition of the *Decemvirate*, which ought to be look'd upon as their Work.

The Conſul *Genutius* replied, that they had aſſembled ſome ancient Senators, only to conſult with them, whether it wou'd be beſt to convene the Senate inſtantly about the new Laws, or to defer it till the end of the Campaign. That if they did not ſummon *Valerius* and *Horatius* with the oldeſt Senators to that Council, it was only to avoid making the People ſuſpect they had changed their Party. 'And to convince you, added *Genutius*, that my Colleague and I behave our ſelves 'in this Affair without the leaſt Partiality, we 'ſhall only give you this one Proof of it, namely, 'that tho' the firſt Opinions are uſually of very 'great weight, and it has been the Cuſtom for the 'Conſuls to ask that of the oldeſt Senators firſt, 'yet as you do not believe them to be Friends to 'the People, we will now change that Method, 'and begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*.' Then addreſſing himſelf to *Valerius* he invited him firſt to declare his Opinion.

Valerius began with expatiating very much upon his own Services to the People, and upon thoſe of his Family. He added, that he thought no State cou'd be called Free whoſe Citizens did not all live in a perfect Equality. He concluded with giving it as his Opinion, that the *Plebeians* ought to be excluded from the Conſulate no longer; but at the ſame time he exhorted the Tribunes of the People to deſiſt from the Oppoſition they had form'd againſt the levy of Troops, which the Conſuls wanted to make, provided thoſe Magiſtrates wou'd engage

gage to proceed to the Publication of the Laws at the end of the Campaign. *Horatius*, whoſe Opinion was asked next, ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe: And he too declared for marching firſt againſt the Enemy; but that after the War ſhould be happily concluded, the Conſuls, the firſt thing they did, ſhou'd bring into the Aſſembly of the People the *Senatusconſultum*, for empowering them to deliberate an Affair of that great Importance.

This Advice raiſed great Murmurs in the Aſſembly. The Senators, who cou'd not agree to admit *Plebeians* into the Conſulate, thought they ſhou'd gain a great Point, if they cou'd put off the Deliberation. Thoſe on the contrary who favoured the People, cou'd not bear this Delay, and maintained, that the *Senatusconſultum* ought at leaſt to be ſigned before they ſeparated.

The Conſuls then ask'd the Opinion of *C. Claudius*, who, as they had before agreed, ſpoke with great Courage and Strength againſt theſe new Pretenſions of the People. He recalled to their Memory all the various Attempts they had made upon the Senate's Authority, ever ſince their Retreat upon the *Mons Sacer*. 'This reſtleſs and inconſtant People, ſaid he, wou'd needs have their particular Magiſtrates; and for the ſake of Peace we granted them Tribunes. They then required *Decemvirs*, and we conſented alſo to their Creation. They ſoon grew diſguſted with thoſe Magiſtrates, and out of regard to them we ſubſcribed to their Depoſal. Nay, we did more; for the ſake of Peace we connived at the violent Deaths of ſome of them, and the Baniſhment of others. Laſtly, in theſe our Days we have ſeen two of our Conſuls, more popular than the very Tribunes themſelves, ſacrificing the Intereſts of their own Order to the People's Ambition. From Sovereign Magiſtrates that we were before, from having none but the Gods

Claudius's Speech againſt the new Pretenſions.

'and our Consuls above us, we have been made 'subject to the Tyranny of the Tribunes of the 'People. Our Councils, our Deliberations, nay 'even our Lives and our private Estates depend 'upon their Will; and those *Plebeian* Magistrates 'dispose of them as they think fit in those tumul-'tuous Assemblies, where Passion and Fury have a 'greater Sway than Reason and Justice. Nor do 'they stop here; *C. Canuleïus* is now for uniting, 'by a shameful Mixture, the illustrious Blood of 'the Nobility with that of the *Plebeians*. If he 'brings this about, those who are born of Marri-'ages so contrary to our Laws, always in dispute 'with themselves, will hardly know from what 'Families they descend, what Sacrifices they ought 'to join in, and whether they are of the Body of 'the People or *Patricians*. And as if it was not 'enough to confound all Distinction of Birth, and 'to break thro' all Rights both divine and hu-'mane, the Colleagues of *Canuleïus*, the Tribunes, 'those Disturbers of the public Quiet, have the 'Boldness to lift up their Eyes to the very Con-'sulship it self. We are now just on the point of 'seeing that great Dignity fall a Prey to the *Ca-'nuleii* and the *Icilii*. But let those new Men be 'assured, added *Claudius*, that the Gods, Prote-'ctors of this Empire, will never suffer it; and 'that we our selves will rather die a thousand 'Deaths, than bear so great an Infamy.

Why the People can't stand for the Consulate.

Canuleïus, naturally impatient, broke in upon him, and asked him abruptly, wherein the Gods wou'd be offended, if *Plebeians*, possessed of all the Qualifications necessary for Government, were chosen Consuls. 'Can you then be to learn, re-'plied *Claudius*, that the *Plebeians* have no Aus-'pices, and cannot take them? Do you not know 'that this was one of the Reasons which induced 'the *Decemvirs* to forbid all unequal Alliances by

'the

'the Laws of the Twelve Tables, that the Auſ-
'pices might be taken only by *Patricians*, whoſe
'Birth ſhou'd be pure and without Mixture; ſo
'that the Prieſthood and the Conſulſhip are e-
'qually reſtrained to that Order?

This Anſwer was ſolid, and built upon the original Eſtabliſhment of their Religion and Laws. But it only ſerved to exaſperate the People againſt *Claudius*; as if that Senator by ſuch Reaſons meant to reproach them, that they were not acceptable to the Gods, and were unworthy, thro' the Baſeneſs of their Birth, to be initiated into their Myſteries.

The Conſuls, to prevent the Bitterneſs which began to ſpread thro' the Minds of the Aſſembly, asked the Opinion of *T. Genutius*, the Brother of one of thoſe Magiſtrates. That Senator declared, that he with the greateſt Concern beheld the Commonwealth afflicted with two Scourges at the ſame time enough to deſtroy it utterly; namely, a War abroad, and domeſtic Feuds within the State: That each of thoſe Evils called for a ſpeedy Remedy, but that it was ſo much the more difficult to find it, as the People's Diſcontent kept up the Enemy's Confidence. Nevertheleſs, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to reſolve upon ſomething, and to chuſe whether to bear the Inſults of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, or if they wou'd march into the Field to grant ſome Satisfaction to the People. That his Opinion was rather to yield up ſome part of the Prerogatives of the Nobility in their Favour, than to abandon the Territory of *Rome*, to be plundered by Strangers. And he concluded, according to his private Agreement with the Conſuls and *Claudius*, that the Law forbidding Alliances between *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Families ought to be aboliſhed, as being contrary to the Union which ought to be maintained between the Citizens of one and the ſame Republic. He added,

T. Genutius's *Opinion.*

added, that if the ancient Senators were so averse to the Thoughts of seeing the Consular Dignity in the Hands of *Plebeians*, a Medium might be found which perhaps might satisfy both Parties. That the way wou'd be to suspend for a time the Election and Title of that Dignity, and to create in the room of Consuls six military Tribunes, who shou'd have the same Functions and the same Authority, and that the three first shou'd always be *Patricians*, and the other three might be *Plebeians*. That the Year following the Senate and People might decide by Plurality of Voices in a general Assembly, what Magistrates they wou'd be governed by, and whether they wou'd have Consuls again as of old, or continue to elect military Tribunes: which for the future shou'd be done in all the *Comitia*.

Military Tribunes established.

Livy l. 4. D.H. l. 11. Zonaras.

This Proposal was approved by Plurality of Voices, in spite of the seeming Opposition of *Claudius*. *T. Genutius* had the Praises both of the Senate and the People for this happy Thought; the Senators were glad to have excluded the *Plebeians* from a Dignity which they hoped to set up again with all its Prerogatives in more favourable Times; and the People, without disturbing themselves about an empty Name, cou'd not contain their Joy at seeing themselves at length admitted into the Government of the Commonwealth under any Title whatsoever. Most of them cried they wou'd now no longer refuse to march against the Enemy; that they wou'd willingly expose themselves to the Danger, since they were to have a share in the Reward.

Some Days afterwards an Assembly was held for the Election of these new Magistrates. Some former Tribunes of the People, and the chief *Plebeians*, hoping to carry those Dignities, appeared in the *Forum* cloathed in white, to be the more remarkable; but the People, satisfied with having

having obtained a Right to ſet up in thoſe Elections, gave all their Votes to *Patricians*. Nay, and but three military Tribunes were choſen, and the Majority of Voices fell upon *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Cecilius* or *Clelius*, all three *Patricians*, and eminent for their Valour and Capacity in the Art of War. *Year of* Rome 309. D.H. Ibid.

But theſe three Magiſtrates were obliged to depoſe themſelves three Months after their Election, upon account that *C. Curtius*, who preſided in it, gave notice that the Ceremonies of the *Auſpices*, which always uſed to precede the Elections for Curule Magiſtracies, had not been exactly obſerved. The *Romans* were very ſcrupulous in the leaſt Circumſtances that concerned their Religion; but perhaps the *Patricians* created this Doubt only in order to reſtore the Conſular Office. And accordingly, the military Tribunes had no ſooner abdicated their new Dignity, but an *Inter-rex* was named, that the Commonwealth might not remain without a Head or Governor. But as he held the Government only in Truſt, and in order to transfer the Authority to annual Magiſtrates, the main Queſtion was whether thoſe Magiſtrates ſhou'd be Conſuls or military Tribunes: the moſt ancient Senators failed not to declare for the Conſulſhip; the People on the contrary ſeemed inclined to military Tribunes. But a Jealouſy ariſing among the Candidates of this laſt Order, thoſe whoſe Party was not ſtrong enough to raiſe them to that Poſt, choſe rather to have the Conſulſhip reſtored, than to ſee their Rivals inveſted with a Dignity which they themſelves cou'd not obtain; and thus by the joint Conſent of the Senate and People, the *Inter-rex* appointed Conſuls, and named to fill that Poſt the remaining part of the Year, *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, Brother to

T. Quintius Barbatus.

The Conſulate reſtor'd.

Year of Rome 309.

one

one of the *Patricians* that had abdicated the Tribuneſhip, as we ſaid above.

Origin of the Cenſors. Year of Rome 310, *or* 311.

Nothing conſiderable happened in their Conſulate; but in the following, and that of *M. Geganius* and *T. Quintius*, the Cenſorſhip was erected; a new Office, or rather only a Portion taken out of the Conſulſhip. And this new Dignity of Cenſor, which at firſt ſeemed of but little Moment, became in time, by the Power annexed to it, the Pinacle of Honour, and the moſt formidable Magiſtracy in the Republic.

As a Spirit of Conqueſt was what chiefly prevailed in this Nation, the ancient King *Servius*, in order to have a ſure Supply of Men and Mony, decreed, as we have already ſhewn, that every five Years an Enumeration ſhou'd be made of all the *Roman* Citizens, with an exact Valuation of every Man's Wealth. The Prince or Magiſtrate by this means cou'd know immediately how many Inhabitants *Rome* had capable of bearing Arms, and what Contribution might be raiſed upon them.

But the Conſuls, who were frequently taken up abroad with almoſt continual Wars, not having had leiſure in above ſeventeen Years to make that Enumeration which was called the *Cenſus*, it was propoſed for the Eaſe of the Conſuls, that two Magiſtrates ſhou'd be created of the Order of the *Patricians*, who, with the Title of *Cenſors*, ſhou'd every five Years take that general Review of the whole *Roman* People.

The Tribunes, tho' always upon their Guard againſt every thing offered by the Senate, did not oppoſe the Eſtabliſhment of this new Magiſtracy. They did not ſo much as demand that the *Plebeians* ſhou'd be allowed a Share in it; whether, becauſe they ſaw, that the Power which went along with the Cenſorſhip was but ſmall, or becauſe they were ſatisfied that by ſeparating thoſe Fun-

Functions from the Conſulate, a Diminution was made of the Power of a Magiſtracy, which was the Object of their Hatred and Emulation. Thus the Law for the Creation of two Cenſors paſſed without any Diſpute.

Papirius and *Sempronius*, the Conſuls of the preceding Year, were raiſed to that Poſt, and it was conferr'd upon them with one Voice, to make them amends for the Year of their Conſulates not being compleat, becauſe they did not enter upon the Execution of it till after the Abdication of the military Tribunes. *Year of* Rome 310. Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3. *Firſt Cenſors.*

While the Conſuls had the Charge of that Enumeration, all their Buſineſs in that Article was only to take an exact Account of the Names, Eſtates, Ages, and Conditions of all the Maſters of Families, and the Name and Age of their Children and Slaves. But when this part of the Magiſtracy was diſmembered from the Conſulſhip, and made a Dignity by itſelf, as Men generally ſtudy nothing but how to enlarge their own Authority, the Cenſors took upon them the Reformation of Manners. They took Cognizance of the Behaviour of every Citizen; the Senators and Knights were ſubject to their Cenſure as much as the meaneſt of the People; they had Power to expel out of thoſe Bodies ſuch as they thought unworthy of being in them. As to ſuch *Plebeians* as thro' their Debauchery or Lazineſs were fallen to Want, they removed them down to an inferior Claſs, nay, oftentimes deprived them of their Right of voting, and they were no longer reputed Citizens but as they were ſtill liable to pay their part of the Tributes. *Functions of the Cenſors.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9.

When the Cenſors made their general Review of the whole Nation, there was not a Citizen, but what trembled at the ſight of their Tribunal; the Senator, thro' fear of being driven out of the Senate; the Knight, with Apprehenſion of being broke and de-

deprived of the Horse which the Republic kept for him; and the private Citizen, with Dread of being expunged out of his Class, and removed down to the lowest, or at least into a Century less honourable than his own. So that this wholsome Terror was the Support of the Sumptuary Laws, the Bond of Concord, and as it were the Guardian of Modesty and Virtue.

Year of Rome 311.

The Republic, by means of this new Establishment, enjoyed a profound Repose in the Consulate of *M. Fabius* and *Posthumus Albutius*. Not but that some Tribunes of the People, always restless, endeavoured to revive the old Pretensions of the People, relating to the Partition of the Lands: They even threatned, according to their old Custom, to oppose raising any Soldiers. But as there were no Wars then to be carried on, an Opposition which Peace made useless and ineffectual was only despised; and the Senate's Authority grew so much the stronger as they cou'd then do without the People's Assistance.

Year of Rome 313.

All was quiet, when the next Year in the Consulate of *Proculus Geganius*, and *L. Menenius*, there happened a dreadful Famine, which occasioned Seditions, by means whereof a private Man had like to have got Possession of the Sovereign Power. The Senate imputed this Scarcity of Corn to the Lazines and Negligence of the *Plebeians*, who intoxicated with the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes, were always sauntering in the *Forum*, and instead of cultivating their Lands, wasted their time in idle Reasonings about State Affairs. The People, on the contrary, who always grumble at those who have the care of the Government, threw back the whole Blame of this Dearth upon want of care in the Consuls. But those Magistrates, without giving any heed to the Murmurs of the Multitude, took all convenient Mea-

Famine in Rome.

Consequences of it.

sures

ſures to get Corn from abroad, and ſent *C. Minutius* upon that Commiſſion. Liv. l. 4. D. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 3. c. 17.

The Senator, who was an active vigilant Man, ſent Commiſſioners all over *Tuſcany*; but with all their Diligence he cou'd gather but a ſmall Quantity of Corn. A *Roman* Knight, whoſe Name was SP. MELIUS, the richeſt private Man in the Commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the Markets, and had bought up moſt of the Grain in that Province.

That Knight, who was yet more ambitious than he was rich, flattered himſelf, that in ſo general a Calamity, the People would ſell their Liberty at an eaſy Rate. Corn was every Day diſtributed by his Order among the common People and the Poor; and with a Liberality always ſuſpicious, and eſpecially in a Commonwealth, he made all thoſe his Creatures whom he fed at his own Expence; his Houſe quickly became the Place of Refuge for the Poor, the Idle, thoſe that had ruined themſelves by Debauchery, and ſuch as being deſtitute of all Notions of Honour or Religion, wou'd gladly ſee the Government quite ſubverted, provided they cou'd but any way better their own Circumſtances in the Change. Sp. Melius's *Ambition.*

Minutius, whoſe Commiſſion frequently obliged him, either by himſelf or his Agents, to have ſome Intercourſe with the Emiſſaries of *Melius*, found out, that that ambitious Man, who alone ſuſtained as many Poor as the whole State, made uſe of the pretence of that public Liberality, which drew Crowds of People to his Gate, to form Aſſemblies in his Houſe, nay ſome, whom *Minutius* had probably gained, brought him Information, that a great quantity of Arms uſed to be carried thither by Night.

He afterwards learnt that there was a Conſpiracy laid to change the Form of the Government;

that the Design was already concerted; that Melius aspired to the Royalty; that the People, seduced by his Liberalities, were to take up Arms in his Favour; and that even some Tribunes were prevailed upon by Money to sell the Public Liberty.

Minutius, having discovered the whole Secret of this Conspiracy, immediately gave an Account of it to the Senate. Heavy Reproaches were thrown upon the Consuls of the preceding Year, and on *Quintius Agrippa Menenius*, who succeeded them in that Dignity, for not having prevented and punished the ill Designs of Melius. *Quintius* replyed, that neither his Predecessors, his Colleague, nor himself wanted either Courage or Resolution to punish so horrid an Attempt; but that every body knew the Consular Authority was in a manner annihilated by the excessive Power usurped by the Tribunes; that an Appeal to the People wou'd put a stop to all their Prosecutions, and that if ever the Business was brought before an Assembly, Melius wou'd infallibly escape from Justice, by Favour of the Multitude that adored him; that in the present Danger of the Republic they stood in need of a Dictator, that is to say of an absolute Magistrate that shou'd be equally above the Laws and the Tribunes of the People.

Year of Rome 314.

L. Quintius *appointed Dictator; against* Sp. Melius.

His Advice being unanimously approved, he named *L. Quintius*, who notwithstanding his great Age was still Master of a Courage and Resolution, proportionable to that Supreme Magistracy.

The next Day he placed Corps of Guards in all parts of the City, as if the Enemy had already been at the Gates of *Rome*. This Precaution surprised all that knew nothing of the Conspiracy; every body enquired the Reason of this Novelty, and why a Dictator shou'd be named in the midst of Peace. But Melius plainly saw That Supreme Magistrate was set up only against him; he doubled his

his Liberalities, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Senate with the Aſſiſtance of the Multitude. The Dictator finding that nothing but a ſtroke of Authority cou'd cruſh ſo dangerous a Plot, cauſed the Tribunal to be brought into the *Forum*, and aſcended it guarded by his Lictors armed with their Axes, and with all the Majeſty of the Sovereign Power. He then ſent *Servilius*, his Maſter of the Horſe, to cite MELIUS to appear before him. MELIUS, ſurprized and uncertain what Courſe to take, delayed to obey, and ſought to make his Eſcape. *Servilius* commanded a Lictor to arreſt him; and that Officer having executed the Orders of the General of the Horſe, MELIUS cries out, that the Senate wanted to deſtroy him only out of Jealouſy, and becauſe he had conſecrated his Eſtate to the Relief of the People; he therefore implores the Aſſiſtance of the Multitude, and conjures his Friends not to ſuffer him to be murdered in their preſence. The People riſe; they encourage one another; and reſcue him out of the Lictor's Hands. MELIUS threw himſelf into the Crowd to eſcape *Servilius*'s Purſuit; but as he was endeavouring to ſtir up a Sedition, *Servilius* run him thro' with his Sword; and, all covered with his Blood, appeared before the Dictator, and told him, he himſelf had puniſhed a Citizen who had refuſed to obey his Orders.

Sp. Melius *kill'd.* Liv. l. 4. Florus. Zonaras.

'I expected no leſs from you, replied that ge'nerous Old Man; you have by this Action ſe'cured the Public Liberty.' He then cauſed MELIUS's Houſe to be razed to the Ground; prodigious Quantities of Corn were found there ſtill, which the Dictator ordered to be ſold to the People at low Rates, that they might not feel the loſs of MELIUS. It was for the ſame reaſon, that the Head of the Conſpiracy being taken off, that prudent Magiſtrate did not think it proper to enquire after his Adherents, for fear he ſhou'd find

too many guilty, and so carry the Plot into Action by going about to punish all the Conspirators too severely.

But the Tribunes of the People, imagining their Crime was unknown because it was unpunished, took occasion from the Dictator's Indulgence to fall into Invectives against him; and especially against the General of the Horse, who without the least formality of Justice, or so much as the Order of his Superior, had killed a Citizen in the very Heart of his Country. Those Magistrates loudly threatned to make him answer severely for it, as soon as ever the Dictator was out of his Post; they talked of no less than throwing him down from the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock as a Tyrant. Never was the College of Tribunes known to be so thoroughly provoked against the Senate; they obstinately opposed the Election of Consuls: And the *Patricians* to avoid a Tumult were forced to be satisfied with creating only Military Tribunes.

Some Tribunes of the People flattered themselves, that they shou'd have a great Sway in this Election; but notwithstanding all their Cabals, the People, contented with being allowed to stand Candidates, gave all their Votes to *Patricians* of known Valour and Capacity, among whom was *L. Quintius* the Son of the Dictator who had just taken off *Melius*.

Year of Rome 315.

The Wars which arose against the *Veientes* and *Volsci*, suspended the Rancour of the Tribunes against *Servilius*; nothing was thought of but how to deal with the Enemy; and a Rumour being spread abroad, that all the Nations of *Tuscany* were to take Arms in favour of the *Veientes*, MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, a Man illustrious both in Peace and War, was raised to the Dictatorship, a Dignity which he had already enjoyed, and in which he had acquired great Glory against the same Enemies.

Year of Rome 319.

mies. But the News of this dreadful League proving falſe, and ÆMILIUS finding himſelf deceived in his Hopes of ſignalizing his ſecond Dictatorſhip by a new Victory, was reſolved however to leave ſome Monument of his Zeal for the Public Liberty. He obſerved to the People in a general Aſſembly, that their Anceſtors, in order to preſerve their Freedom, had eſtabliſh'd in the Republic no Office whoſe Authority and Functions ſhou'd laſt for above a Year; that they had not remember'd ſo wiſe a Precaution in the Creation of the Cenſors, who had been allowed a five Years Magiſtracy; that during an Authority of ſo long continuance, they might have leiſure to abuſe it, to make themſelves Creatures, and ſo oppreſs the Liberty of their Country; and he propoſed to make a Law for ſhortening the duration of that Office, and for regulating that none ſhou'd enjoy it above a Year and an half.

Æmilius confines the Cenſorſhip to 18 Months.

This Diſcourſe was received with great Applauſe, eſpecially by the People. It was added afterwards to this Law, that no Senator ſhou'd ever have the Cenſorſhip twice in his Life, tho' he had behaved himſelf in his firſt with the Approbation of his Fellow-Citizens; and for fear that Dignity being left in the Hands of one ſingle Man ſhou'd make him too powerful, it was farther decreed, that if one of the Cenſors happened to dye or reſign his Office, the other ſhou'd not hold it, nor even get a Colleague ſubſtituted in the other's room; and that in the Election of Cenſors, tho' a Man had the Majority of Voices, he ſhou'd not be declared Cenſor, if his Colleague wanted the neceſſary Number; that the Election of both ſhou'd be begun again, till in the ſame Scrutiny they had all the Votes requiſite to their being Both acknowledged Cenſors together: Precautions which this Nation ſo jealous of its Liberty

Liv. l. 4.

thought neceſſary to take againſt the Brigues and Cabals of the *Patricians*.

The Senate cou'd not without a ſecret Diſcontent ſee the Dictator leſſen the Power of a Magiſtracy peculiar to their Order. *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, the Cenſors that Year, ſhewed their Reſentment of this Injury, without regard to the Merit and Services of ÆMILIUS. That Dictator had no ſooner abdicated his Dignity, but in virtue of the Power belonging to the Cenſorſhip, they cut ſo illuſtrious a Man out of his Tribe, and removed him down to the laſt; took from him, as from a ſcandalous Wretch, the Privilege of Voting, and loaded him with a Tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay. But this Perſecution, inſtead of diſhonouring him, gave him a new Luſtre; all the Shame of this Revenge fell back upon the Authors: The People with Indignation purſued them into the *Forum*, and had torn them to pieces if ÆMILIUS had not been ſo generous as to ſave them.

Æmilius degraded by the Cenſors.

The Tribunes of the People laid hold of this Occaſion to ſtir up the People's Animoſity againſt the Senate afreſh. They cried in all the Aſſemblies, that it was no wonder the *Patricians* ſhou'd uſe the People ill, when out of their Hatred to the *Plebeians* they did not bluſh at depriving a Senator, a Conſular, one that had been honoured with two Dictatorſhips, of the Right of a Citizen, only for having propoſed a Law, which tho' it diminiſhed their Authority, ſecured the Public Liberty. Such Diſcourſes, repeated by the Tribunes in moſt of the Aſſemblies, kept up the Rancour in the Spirits of the People, who to ſhew their Reſentment againſt the Senate wou'd never give their Conſent to the Election of Conſuls; they were again obliged to chuſe Military Tribunes: It was indeed the ſame Dignity and the ſame Office, tho' with a different Title; but the Privi-

The Tribunes exaſperated that they had no Share in the Public Offices.

Privilege which the People had of rejecting the Conſulate, and the Liberty they were allowed of ſtanding Candidates in the Elections for the Military Tribuneſhip, made the Tribunes of the People, who aſpired to that Poſt, forget nothing that might induce the People to demand Military Tribunes; nevertheleſs in ſpite of all their Intereſt, the People ſtill prepoſſeſſed in Favour of the Nobility, as to their Capacity in Government, and the Command of Armies, gave their Voices again to *Patricians*. *Year of* Rome 320, *and* 321.

This Preference turned the Complaints and Reſentment of the Tribunes of the People wholly againſt the Multitude; they publickly threaten'd them, that they wou'd fling up the Care of their Intereſts. 'Will the Fear you are under of the 'Power of the Nobles, ſaid they in their Ha'rangues, keep you in a perpetual Subjection to 'their Will? In the Election of Military Tri'bunes, when you are free to give your Votes 'how you pleaſe, why do you never remember, 'neither yourſelves, nor your Magiſtrates? Know 'that there ought to be great Rewards to encou'rage great Souls. And if motives of Gratitude 'will have no Effect upon you, at leaſt be afraid 'leſt diſheartned by your Indifference, we ſhou'd 'in our turn leave you a Prey to the Inſolence 'and Tyranny of the *Patricians*.

Theſe Diſcourſes, which the Tribunes of the People repeated in all their Aſſemblies, awakened the Antipathy and Ambition of the *Plebeians*. Each mutually exhorted the other to deſpiſe the Intreaties and Threats of the Great. They began now afreſh to talk of the Diviſion of the Lands, the everlaſting Source of Contention between the People and the Senate. Others propoſed, that a Tax ſhou'd be laid at leaſt upon thoſe Lands, which of right belong'd to the Public, and the Money be employed for the relief of the People,

and to pay the Troops during the Campaign. Thoſe among the *Plebeians*, who were eminent either for their Riches or the Glory they had acquired in the Wars, reſolved to uſe their whole Credit to raiſe themſelves to the Military Tribuneſhip, and to the Supream Authority which was aſſigned to that Dignity. The Senate, to diſperſe this Storm which was gathering againſt their Authority, reſolved now to chuſe none but Conſuls: An Office from which the *Plebeians* were excluded of courſe, as we have ſaid before. The Wars which the *Æqui* and the *Volſci* then declared, favoured this Deſign. As there were then no *Plebeians* who had ever commanded Armies, and none but old Captains and the chief Men of the Senate were fit for that Employment, the People were indifferent, whether Conſuls or Military Tribunes were choſen this Year. Thus the Senate being left Maſters of the Election, it was ſoon reſolved to reſtore the Conſulſhip, and *T. Quintius* the Son of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* attained that Dignity. A better Choice cou'd not have been made, with reſpect either to Birth or Capacity in the Art of War. But Jealouſy and Diviſion ariſing between them, it is ſaid they were beaten near *Algidum*. The Senate, to prevent the Conſequences of their Defeat, were reſolved to have recourſe to a Dictator. But the two Conſuls, on whom the Nomination of him depended, conſidering that from ſupream Magiſtrates, which they were now, they ſhou'd be reduced to the mean Quality of the Dictator's Lieutenants, and that tho' they retained the Name of Conſuls, they ſhou'd have but little more Authority than the General of the Horſe; thoſe two Magiſtrates, tho' they differed in all other reſpects, united to croſs a Nomination which they looked upon as the Deſtruction of their own Authority. And tho' News came upon News of the Succeſs

Year of Rome 322.

of

of the Enemies Arms, they cou'd never be prevailed upon to name a Dictator.

The Senate implores the Assistance of the Tribunes against the Consuls.

The Senate, not able to overcome their Obstinacy, had recourse to an Expedient more pernicious in its Consequences than the very Evil they intended to redress. *Q. Servilius Priscus*, a Consular Person, turning to the Tribunes of the People who were then in the Senate, exhorted them to get the People to interpose their Authority, of which they were in a manner the Guardians, to oblige the Consuls to name a Dictator. Livy l. 4. Those *Plebeian* Magistrates joyfully laid hold of so fair an Occasion, to raise their own Authority upon the Ruin of that of the Senate and Consuls. They even did more than was required of them, as those generally do who intend to enlarge their Power beyond its due Limits: and instead of carrying this Affair before an Assembly of the People, they presumed in the very Senate to order the two Consuls to be led to Prison, if they did not immediately name a Dictator. Those two Magistrates submitted, upon the Terror of Imprisonment; they promised to name a Dictator; but they complained that the Senate it self had debased the Consular Power, by subjecting it to the imperious Yoke of the Tribunes. It is certain, That chief Body of the Republic being exasperated against their Heads, and minding nothing but to vanquish their Obstinacy, were not then sensible of the Breach they had made in their own Authority. At length, after a great many Disputes between the two Consuls about the Choice of a Dictator, they referred the Decision of it to Chance, which proved favourable to *T. Quintius*; and he named his Father-in-law *Tubertus*.

The Dictator immediately listed all those that were to serve, without giving Ear in the least either to Complaints or Excuses. He was an old Captain, of great Valour and Experience; but naturally

turally severe and even cruel in his Government. The Power of Life and Death, which the Dictatorship gave him, and the Knowledge of his stern Disposition, made every Body run obediently to take their place under his Ensigns. He soon marched forth of *Rome*, sought out the Enemy, defeated them in a bloody Engagement, took their Camp, and led back his Army victorious to *Rome*.

Æqui defeated.

Diodor. l. 12.

The Republic for some time after this enjoyed a profound Peace. But a Calamity more grievous than War fell upon *Rome*, and almost upon all *Italy*. An extream Drought occasioned a Famine, which was followed by a dreadful Plague, that spared neither Man nor Beast. The *Romans*, naturally superstitious, after having in vain exhausted all the Application of Medicine, had recourse to supernatural Aids. A foreign Worship was introduced into the City; the Temples and the very Streets were crowded with People, sacrificing to Deities unknown: And they were not ashamed, in order to conjure away the Distemper, to apply to Charms, and all those idle Superstitions, which the Weakness of Man has found out. The Senate, who were well apprized of the Danger of Innovations in Religion, ordered the *Ædiles* to put a stop to this Disorder; and it was forbid by a public Edict, to practise any Ceremony which was not lawfully admitted into the Commonwealth.

Famine and Plague in Rome. *Superstitions thereupon.*

Year of Rome 325.

Livy l. 4. 12 Tabularum Leges.

This Calamity being over, they proceeded to the Election of new Magistrates; and the People prevailed to have Military Tribunes chosen with the Consular Power. But this Alteration in the Government was not fortunate. The War breaking out afresh with the *Veïentes*, the Tribunes not very well united among themselves, were defeated, which made it necessary to create a Dictator. C. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS was pitched upon to fill

Year of Rome 327.

that

that eminent Dignity. His Merit and the Neceſſities of the State, obliged the *Romans* to truſt the Fortune of the Republic in the Hands of a Man, whom the Cenſors, as we heard before, did not bluſh to degrade from his Tribe, and to brand as unworthy of the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen. The Succeſs of this War was anſwerable to the Confidence which the *Roman* People had in their General. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS in leſs than ſixteen Days cut part of the Enemy's Army to pieces, made a great Number of Priſoners, who either ſerved as a Reward to the Soldiers, or were ſold for Slaves to the Profit of the public Treaſury. The Dictator after a ſolemn Triumph reſigned his Office, and made it a queſtion whether his Moderation was not yet greater than his Valour.

Æmilius again Dictator; his Moderation.

Year of Rome 327. Livy l. 4. Flor. l. 1. c. 12. Oroſ. l. 2. c. 13.

Theſe continual Victories of the *Romans* only ſerved to ſwell the Minds, and increaſe the Ambition, of the Prime Men among the People. They wou'd not hear any more of electing Conſuls, becauſe they were excluded from the Conſulate, tho' allowed to put up for the Tribunitian Office. Thus, in ſpite of all the Senate cou'd do, they were obliged to comply with chuſing four military Tribunes. But notwithſtanding all the Endeavours which the Tribunes of the People uſed, to come in for their Share in this Election, they had again the Mortification to ſee the *Patricians* run away with all the Votes. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Rage and Indignation of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates. They declared publickly, that it was better to aboliſh the Law which gave the People leave to aſpire to the Poſt of military Tribune, than to ſee it thus evaded in all the Elections by the Cabals of the *Patricians*; and that it wou'd be leſs ſhame to their Order, to be wholly excluded from it, as they were from the Conſulſhip, than to have the Privilege of ſtand-

Diſturbances of the Tribunes.

ing Candidates, and to be rejected upon the Election, as incapable or unworthy of that Honour. They fell into Complaints againſt the People themſelves; they threatned wholly to throw up the care of their Intereſts; and as if they had a mind in revenge to turn the Commonwealth quite topſy-turvy, ſome propoſed to carry part of the People into new Colonies, others revived the old Pretenſions relating to the Diviſion of the Lands. There were ſome demanded, that no Citizen ſhou'd be obliged to go to the War, unleſs a regular Pay was allow'd him. In a word, there was nothing which thoſe ſeditious Magiſtrates forgot to trump up, that might either revenge them of the Nobility, or bring the People by the Hopes of thoſe Innovations to raiſe them by their Voices to the Dignity of Military Tribunes.

The *Patricians* who were then actually in Poſſeſſion of that Office, and thought it a Shame to have *Plebeians* for their Succeſſors, privately agreed with the Senate to draw out of *Rome* the chief of the People, and eſpecially thoſe that aſpired to the Military Tribuneſhip, upon pretence of making an Incurſion into the Lands of the *Volſci*, who they gave out were making a powerful Armament, and during their Abſence, inſtead of Military Tribunes, it was reſolved to chuſe only Conſuls. Thoſe Magiſtrates, before they left the City, gave the care of the Government and of preſiding in the Election to *Appius Claudius*, their Colleague, the Son of the *Decemvir*, a young Man, fierce, bold, enterprizing, and educated from his very Cradle in an hereditary Averſion to the People's Power. He no ſooner ſaw the Tribunes, and moſt of the *Plebeians* gone into the Field, but, laying hold of the Opportunity of their Abſence, he proceeded to the Election of Conſuls. *C.* SEMPRONIUS *Atratinus*, and *C. Fabius Vibulanus*, were choſen to fill that Dignity. And

Year of Rome 330.

the

the People and their Tribunes at their return found the Election of thoſe two Magiſtrates too ſtrongly ſettled to think of reverſing it. They turn'd their Reſentment againſt the Conſuls themſelves, and endeavoured afterwards to charge as a Crime upon SEMPRONIUS the ill Succeſs he had during his Conſulate in the War againſt the *Volſci*.

The Romans *beaten by the* Volſci.

That warlike Nation, who had long fought with the *Romans* for Empire and Dominion, did this Year make, as it were, a final Puſh to avoid receiving the Yoke of their old Enemies. The *Volſcian* Magiſtrates raiſed a great Number of Troops, made choice of excellent Generals, and omitted none of thoſe wiſe Precautions, which may be looked upon as the ſureſt Tokens of good Succeſs. *Rome* ſent againſt them her firſt Conſul SEMPRONIUS, a Man full of Valour, popular and familiar to the Soldier, who adored him, but one that was more a Soldier himſelf than a Captain, and that made War as if Courage alone were ſufficient to ſupply all the Duties of a General. He advanced towards the Enemies as if he had been going to a certain Victory, and marched on with a Security ever dangerous. The two Armies ſoon came in view of each other: The *Volſci* had taken all the Advantages that the Situation of the Place wou'd afford them. SEMPRONIUS, on the contrary, who deſpiſed Enemies that they had ſo often vanquiſhed, neglected all thoſe uſeful Precautions; and as if he had been ſure of winning the Victory only with his Infantry, he left his Horſe in a Place where he cou'd receive no manner of Aſſiſtance from them. The Fight began with equal Fury on both ſides. The *Romans*, tho' in Diſorder, advanced daringly, and charged the Enemies with their accuſtomed Valour. But as they fought with more Fire than Order, and the *Volſci* on the contrary drawn together in firm and cloſe Battalions, defended themſelves with great Cou-

rage, Fortune began to declare for the side where there was most Discipline. The *Volsci*, led by an experienced General, press on briskly and break the Legions. The *Roman* Soldier surprised, instead of offending, thinks only how he may avoid the Attack of the Enemy. They insensibly give back, the Confusion increases, and at last they lose Ground apace. The Consul perceiving it, hastes where there is most Danger. He fights with his own Hand, and tries to animate his Soldiers by his Example and Reproaches, but in vain. He calls and he threatens; no Body hears either his Voice or his Orders; and the Soldier terrified, shews that he fears nothing but the Enemy and Death. At length all the Legions fall entirely into Confusion and Disorder, and the Battel had been quite lost if SEX. TEMPANIUS, an old Captain of Horse, had not proposed to the other Officers of the same Body to dismount and throw themselves in the Front of the Legions to bear off the shock of the Enemy.

Prudence and Valour of Tempanius.

SEMPRONIUS, who, as we said before, had flattered himself that he shou'd be able to defeat them only with his Foot, had left his Horse in a place hemm'd in with Bogs, where it was impossible for them to fight. TEMPANIUS perceiving this Fault, and the Disorder the Legions were put into, leap'd to the Ground with all his Comrades, and addressing himself to them; *Follow my Lance*, said he to them, *as if it were a Standard; and let us shew the Enemy, that as well on Foot as on Horseback, nothing can withstand us.* That whole Body of Horse dismounted after his Example, and followed him. TEMPANIUS, at the Head of this new Infantry, marches strait against the Enemy and restores the Fight; he pushes all that he meets. The Legions at the sight of this Succour resume Courage, and the Battel is renew'd with fresh Fury. The General of the *Volsci* cou'd not conceive

Val. Max. l. 3. c. 2. Id. l. 6. c. 5.

ceive whence this new Body of Infantry ſhou'd come. But as he found himſelf preſs'd by them, he ſent Orders to his Troops to open their Ranks, and give Paſſage to the Body which TEMPANIUS commanded; and then to cloſe their Battalions again, in order to ſeparate thoſe new Troops from the Legions. The *Volſci*, in execution of his Orders, give back, ſeem to retreat; divide, and give Paſſage to TEMPANIUS and his Troop; who, carried on by the Heat of their Courage, and imagining they were following Victory, and a routed Enemy, ruſhed ſtill forwards. But it was not long e'er they found that they were cut off from their Fellows by ſome of the Enemy's Battalions which were cloſed again, and had poſted themſelves between them and the *Roman* Army. TEMPANIUS did his utmoſt to cut his way back thro' them and rejoin the Conſul; but he cou'd not break their Order. In this Extremity he ſpied an Eminence which he preſently got Poſſeſſion of.

The *Volſci*, fancying it was impoſſible he ſhou'd eſcape them, immediately aſſail him. TEMPANIUS defends himſelf with invincible Bravery; and this Diverſion ſaves the Conſul's Army. The Legions now more ſlackly preſs'd, rally again, return to the Charge, and the Conſul at their Head ſtrives with ſurprizing Valour to reſcue and join TEMPANIUS. The *Volſci* ſtand immoveable every where; and tho' they loſt abundance of Men in this laſt Action, they chuſe rather to be killed than to fly. None give Ground: the living Soldier ſteps into the Place of the Dead, and defends it with the ſame Intrepidity; nor cou'd the *Romans* break ſo ſtrong a Bulwark, nor pierce one Battalion. They fought far into the Night, without either of the Generals being able to perceive on which ſide lay the Advantage, and nothing but Wearineſs and Want of Light parted the two Armies.

SEMPRONIUS

Sempronius and the General of the *Volsci*, uncertain of the Success of the Battel, and both equally apprehensive of being obliged to renew the Fight again next Morning, left the Field of Battel as it were by Consent; and not thinking themselves safe even in their Camp, retired with Precipitation. After they had marched all Night each towards their own Country, with equal Terror, they intrenched themselves with as much Haste and Care as if they had still been in sight of each other.

Livy, l. 4. Tempanius, who doubted not but the Enemy wou'd attack him again as soon as ever the Darkness was dispelled, was very much surprised when at day-break he saw neither Friends nor Enemies. He cou'd not imagine what shou'd be become of two great Armies, who, but a few Hours before, stretch'd over the whole Plain. He first sent out to view the *Volscian* Camp, and then that of the *Romans*. Not a Man was to be found in either, except a few wounded Persons that were not able to follow the main Body of the Army. Tempanius was desirous of being himself an Eye-witness of so strange an Event; and after having taken the necessary Precautions to secure himself from being surprised, he visited the two Camps, and found in each an equal Solitude. Thence he went out to the Field of Battel, which offered nothing to his View but the Dead and the Dying, and that dismal Image which is left in such a Place the Day after a Battel. At length hearing no News of the Consul's Army, and fearing to be surrounded again by that of the *Volsci*, he took up the *Roman* Soldiers that were wounded, and with them resumed the way to *Rome*. He was received there with the greatest Surprize and Joy; he had been given over for lost with all his Comrades. Some that fled and were got to *Rome* before him, and had seen him cut off from the Army and surrounded by the Enemy

nemy, had not failed to give out that the whole Body of Horſe was cut to pieces. The return of TEMPANIUS and his Comrades diſperſed thoſe falſe Rumours. But the Tribunes of the People were reſolved not to loſe ſo favourable an Opportunity of deſtroying the Conſul. The People were actually aſſembled when TEMPANIUS arrived at *Rome*. They obliged him to appear in the Aſſembly before he ſet foot in his own Houſe; and *Cn. Julius*, one of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, asked him aloud whether he thought SEMPRONIUS was fit to command the Armies of the *Roman* People; whether he had found in the laſt Engagement that he had diſpoſed his Troops like an experienced General; what was become of him ſince the Battel, and where the Army was that he commanded? *I expect*, added that Tribune, *that you wou'd anſwer directly and without any Evaſions, to all theſe Particulars; inform us what is become of our Legions; whether they have abandoned you, or you deſerted them; and laſtly, whether we are Vanquiſhed or Victors.* TEMPANIUS, without going about to make his own Advantage of SEMPRONIUS's Diſgrace, anſwered the Tribune, that it did not become a private Officer to pretend to judge of the Capacity of his General; and that the People had given their Opinion of it when they choſe him Conſul: That he had ſeen him fight at the Head of the Legions with invincible Bravery, and that he expoſed his own Perſon in all the Places where there was moſt Danger: That the great Diſtance between them after their Separation, and the Confuſion which always happens in ſo obſtinate a Fight, had kept him from knowing every thing that paſſed where the Conſul was engaged; but that he cou'd however aſſure them, by what had appeared to him in the Field of Battel, that the *Volſci* had not loſt fewer Men than the *Romans:* and that

Tempanius's *Moderation.*

as upon his Separation from the main Body of the Legions, he had been so fortunate as to get possession of an Eminence, on which, notwithstanding all the Assaults of the Adversary, he had preserved those that were trusted to his Command; so he presumed the Consul, in that general Disorder, had gained the Mountains, and there intrench'd himself. TEMPANIUS then desired leave to retire, in order to get the Wounds dress'd which he had received in the Fight. The whole Assembly gave yet greater Praises to the Discretion and Modesty of his Answer, than to the Valour and good Conduct with which he had fought against the Enemies of his Country.

Sempronius *accus'd; is defended by* Tempanius.

Year of Rome 331.

The People, in reward of his Services, chose him Tribune some time afterwards, together with three other Officers that had distinguished themselves in the same manner. In this Post he gave new Proofs of the Generosity of his Soul. For *L. Hortensius*, one of his Colleagues, having cited SEMPRONIUS, after the Year of his Consulate was expired, to answer before the Assembly of the People for his Conduct in the last Battel, TEMPANIUS and his three Colleagues resolutely undertook his Defence, and intreated *Hortensius* not to persecute a brave General, who had been only unfortunate upon this Occasion. *But if I shew you*, replied *Hortensius*, *that this* Patrician, *whose Valour you so highly praise, is the only Cause of our Defeat, will you oppose the Justice he deserves? Will you destroy the Power of the Tribuneship; and turn against the People themselves the very Authority which you hold only from their Favour?* TEMPANIUS and his Colleagues answered him with great Moderation, that they owned the People had an absolute Power over all that bore the Name of *Roman* Citizens; that they paid the greatest Reverence to that Authority, and would never make a wrong Use of the

the Truſt which was repoſed in them: But that if the Intreaties they made in their General's behalf were rejected by one of their Colleagues, they wou'd change their Habit like the Perſon accuſed, and ſhare with their Captain either in his good or ill Fortune. *Hortenſius*, ſtruck with their Generoſity, cried out he wou'd never conſent that the *Roman* People ſhou'd ſee their Tribunes in mourning. He dropp'd his Impeachment, and declared he wou'd never proſecute a General, unfortunate indeed againſt the Enemy, but who had found means to make himſelf ſo dear and agreeable to his Soldiers.

The Affection which four Tribunes of the People had ſhewed to a *Patrician*, and *Hortenſius*'s Compliance, ſeemed once more to have reſtored a Union between the Senate and the People. The State ſeem'd perfectly quiet; but this Concord laſted not long. In the Conſulate of *T. Quintius Capitolinus* and *Fabius Vibulanus*, new Diſſentions aroſe with relation to the Quæſtorſhip. The Quæſtors were Officers that had the care of the public Treaſure; and the firſt Foundation of that Office is aſcribed to *P. Valerius Publicola*, as we have already obſerved. That *Patrician* having thought it convenient that the Public Treaſure ſhou'd be kept in the Temple of *Saturn*, choſe two Senators to take care of it, who were afterwards called Quæſtors, and left the Choice of them to the People.

Year of Rome 332. *Contentions about the Military Quæſtors.*

The two Conſuls above-mentioned being enter'd upon their Office, and finding that, ſince the Conqueſts and Aggrandizement of the Republic, thoſe two Officers were not ſufficient to diſpatch all their Buſineſs, propoſed to increaſe the number of them, and to add to the two firſt Quæſtors, who never ſtirred from *Rome*, two others who ſhou'd attend the Conſuls and Generals in the Army, to keep an account of the Spoils of the Ene-

mies, to ſell the Booty, and above all, to take care of the Proviſions and Subſiſtence of the Army. The Senate and the People at firſt ſeemed equally to approve of this Propoſal, and the former readily conſented that in the Election of Quæſtors, as well as in that of Military Tribunes, the *Roman* People, if they thought fit, might chuſe as many *Plebeians* as *Patricians*. But the Tribunes, ever unjuſt, demanding that half thoſe Magiſtrates ſhou'd always certainly be *Plebeians*, the Senate rather than ſubmit to this, broke this Deſign of the Conſuls. The Tribunes, in revenge, renewed the Propoſal of the Diviſion of the Lands, the perpetual Shift of thoſe ſeditious Magiſtrates. After having inveighed with great Rage againſt the Senate, they declared they wou'd never give their Conſent to the Election of new Conſuls, if the People were not allowed in the Election of Quæſtors to give their Voices indifferently for *Plebeians* or *Patricians*. The Senate abſolutely rejected this Condition; and the Obſtinacy of the two Parties in holding to their Demands, threw the Republic into a kind of Anarchy. They were obliged to have recourſe ſeveral times to an *Inter-rex*; a Dignity which was but for five Days. Nay, the Tribunes often oppoſed even his Election, for fear he ſhou'd nominate Conſuls by his own Authority. At length *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being *Inter-rex*, managed the Buſineſs ſo artfully, that he brought both Parties to conſent to the chuſing of Military Tribunes inſtead of Conſuls, and that in the Election of the four Quæſtors, as well as in that of thoſe Military Tribunes, the People might give their Votes as they pleaſed, either to *Patricians* or *Plebeians*.

The Aſſembly for the Election of Military Tribunes was held firſt; and notwithſtanding all the Credit and Intrigues of the Tribunes of the People,

ple, four *Patricians* were choſen, namely, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Sp. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, Couſin to the Conſul of the ſame Name: The latter was pitched upon to preſide in the Election of Quæſtors. *Antiſtius*, Tribune of the People, and *Pompilius*, one of his Colleagues, put up the one his Son, the other his Brother, and demanded the Quæſtorſhip for them. But in ſpite of all their Cabals, the *Patricians* alone carried that Dignity; and the People, though incenſed by their ſeditious Harangues, had not Power to deny it to Men whoſe Fathers and Anceſtors had been honoured with the Conſulſhip. The two Tribunes of the People, enraged almoſt to Madneſs at this Preference, and the Shame of a Refuſal, cried out that it was impoſſible the People cou'd have had ſo little regard to the Intreaty and Recommendation of their own Magiſtrates: That there muſt infallibly have been ſome Deceit in the Scrutiny, and that *A. Sempronius*, who had gathered the Votes, ought to be called to an account for it. But as he was a Man of known Probity, and his Innocence and the Dignity with which he was then inveſted, ſet him above their reach, they turned all their Indignation againſt *C. Sempronius* his Relation, whom we have ſpoken of before. They revived the Proſecution againſt him for his ill Conduct in the laſt Battel, which *Hortenſius*, at the Requeſt of TEMPANIUS, had dropp'd; and he was condemn'd at their Suit, and that of *Canuleïus*, another Tribune of the People, to pay a Fine of fifteen Thouſand Pence. Their Fury was not ſatisfied with the Shame they thought to fix upon the whole Body of the Senate, thro' the Sides of this Conſular. They continued to fill the City with Troubles and Diviſions, either by hindering the Election of Conſuls, or by re-

Year of Rome 333. Liv. l. 4. *Patrician Quæſtors.*

Sempronius *condemn'd.*

Year of Rome 333.

viving old Pretenſions as the Seeds of new Commotions.

Year of Rome 334.

The Tribunes who propoſe the Agrarian *Law.*

The next Year *Sp. Mecilius* fourth time Tribune of the People, and *Metilius* another Tribune of the People a third time, in order to perpetuate themſelves in the Tribuneſhip, and procure to themſelves a kind of Empire and Dominion for Life, renewed the Propoſal of the Diviſion of the Lands conquered from the Neighbours and Enemies of *Rome*. This was the common Bait with which the moſt ſeditious Tribunes uſed to lure the People. *Rome*, as we have ſaid before, built upon a foreign Ground, depending originally upon the City of *Alba*, had ſcarce any Territory but what was won Sword in hand. The *Patricians* and thoſe who had the greateſt Share in the Government, under pretence of renting Parcels of it, had got into Poſſeſſion of the reſt, and of all that lay conveniently for them, and had made it a kind of Patrimony of their own: Long Preſcription had concealed theſe Uſurpations, and it had been no eaſy Matter to diſcover the old Boundaries that ſeparated what belong'd to the Public, from the Parcels let out to each particular Man. Yet the Tribunes were for diſpoſſeſſing the old Proprietors, even tho' they had raiſed Structures upon thoſe Lands. An Enquiry ſo hateful, flung the chief Families of the Republic into great Conſternation. The Senate met ſeveral times to think of Means to fruſtrate ſuch dangerous Propoſals. It is ſaid, that *Appius Claudius*, tho' the youngeſt and laſt of the Senate, offered an Advice which was not diſagreeable to that Body: He ſaid, that it was only in the Tribuneſhip it ſelf, that a Relief againſt the Tyranny of the Tribunes was to be found; that all they had to do was to gain over only one of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates to hinder the ill Deſigns of his Colleagues by his Oppoſition.

Year of Rome 335.

Year of Rome 336.

on. That their way wou'd be to apply to the laſt of that College; that they being yet but new in Buſineſs, and jealous of the Authority which *Mecilius* and *Metilius* took upon them, wou'd not be inflexible to the Senate's Careſſes, and that perhaps they wou'd gladly lend their Oppoſition, if only to ſhew their Power, and make ſome Figure in the Government.

This Advice was unanimouſly approved, and *Appius* was highly prais'd for having thus ſhewn that he did not degenerate from the Virtue of his Anceſtors. Thoſe Senators who had any Acquaintance with the Tribunes of the People, inſinuate themſelves into their Confidence, and lay before them the Confuſion they muſt breed in the State, and in every private Family, if they ever enter'd upon making a Diſtinction between the Lands granted by *Romulus*, and thoſe which had been conquered from the Neighbours of the Republic for almoſt four hundred Years, and had in different Ages fallen into the Hands of private Perſons: That the Deſign of a Law to make a perfect Equality in the Fortune of all the Citizens, wou'd deſtroy the Subordination ſo neceſſary in a State; and that the Rich, whether *Patricians* or *Plebeians*, wou'd not ſo eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be ſtript of the Eſtates they inherited from their Fore-fathers, or had honeſtly purchaſed of the lawful Owners; and that ſo unjuſt a Search, wou'd infallibly raiſe a Civil War, and perhaps coſt the beſt Blood in the Commonwealth. In ſhort, what with Intreaties and Remonſtrances, they ſucceeded ſo well, that of the ten Tribunes they won over ſix to oppoſe the Promulgation of the Law.

Mecilius and his Colleague, enraged to meet with this Oppoſition in their own Tribunal and College, reproached their Colleagues as Tray- *Some of the Tribunes oppoſe their Colleagues.*

tors, Enemies to the People, and Slaves to the Senate. But ſpite of all theſe Abuſes, as the Oppoſition of but one Tribune was ſufficient to ſtop the proceeding of the other Nine, and there were Six that declared againſt the Reception of the Law, *Mecilius* and his Colleague were forced to deſiſt from this Enterprize.

Year of Rome 337.

The Senate, by means of this Intelligence with the Majority of the Tribunes, remained the Directors of Affairs the following Year alſo. *L. Sextius*, one of thoſe Tribunes, in order to make his court to the People, having propoſed to ſend a Colony to *Vola*, a little Town which they had lately taken, the other Tribunes oppoſed it ſtrongly, and declared that during their Tribuneſhip, they wou'd never ſuffer any new Law to be offered, that was not firſt approved of by the Senate.

Year of Rome 338.

But this good Underſtanding between the Senate and Tribunes laſted not long: The Succeſſors of thoſe Magiſtrates of the People ſoon afterwards reſumed the Proſecution of the Diviſion of the Lands, with even more Fury than *Mecilius* and his Colleague.

Poſthumius *maſſacred by his Soldiers.*

The *Æqui* having ſurprized *Vola*, the Conduct of that War was given to *M. Poſthumius Regillenſis* who was then military Tribune. That General knew how to make War; but he was ſtern, haughty, proud of his Birth and Dignity, and carried that Diſtinction too high in a Commonwealth, where all the Citizens reckoned themſelves equal. That General laid Siege to *Vola*, or rather tried to take it immediately by Storm. The *Romans* in thoſe Days but rarely made regular Sieges: Their way commonly was, firſt to inveſt a Place on all Sides; then they led their Troops to the very Foot of the Walls, and by a general Attack, which divided the Attention and

Forces

Forces of the Beſieged, they endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of the Place. *Poſthumius*, before he led his Troops on to this way of Aſſault, which was called *Corona*, becauſe the Town was ſurrounded on all Sides, promiſed them for their Encouragement, to give them the Plunder if they took it. The Town was won; but *Poſthumius*, who naturally hated the *Plebeians*, of whom the greateſt part of his Army conſiſted, broke his word with them, and ſold all for the Public Treaſury.

Year of Rome 339. Livy l. 4. c. 49. Zonaras. Ann. 2. Flor. l. 1. c. 22.

Vola *retaken.*

Sextius, who had ſo much Intereſt as to get continued in the Tribuneſhip this Year alſo, propoſed ſome time afterwards in a full Aſſembly, that to make the People amends for the Military Tribune's Breach of Promiſe, a Colony ſhou'd at leaſt be ſettled in that Place of thoſe who by their Valour had contributed to the retaking of it, and he demanded that the *Plebiſcitum* to be made for this Purpoſe ſhou'd grant thoſe Soldiers the whole Territory of *Vola*. To intimidate the Senate, and ſo make this Propoſal paſs the more eaſily, he at the ſame time renewed the old Pretenſions of the Diviſion of the Lands, which the Tribunes never failed to trump up, when they had a mind to make the Senate uneaſy, or extort ſome new Privilege from them.

All the People applauded this Propoſal. *Poſthumius*, whom his Colleagues had ſent for, that they might conjointly oppoſe the Enterprizes of the Tribunes of the People, being with the other Senators in that Aſſembly, where he ſaw many of his own Soldiers mingled in the Crowd, and demanding this Partition with great Clamours: *Wo be to my Men*, cried *Poſthumius* aloud, *if they do not hold their Peace*. So proud a Saying, tho' in the Mouth of a General, offended the Senate no leſs than the Multitude: *Sextius*, bold

bold and eloquent, took Advantage of the general Displeasure, and directing his Speech to the People: 'Did you not hear, said he, the Threats 'which *Posthumius* gave our Soldiers, as if they 'were his Slaves? Can you after this doubt the 'Hatred and Contempt which the *Patricians* 'have for you? And yet these insolent and cruel '*Patricians* are the Men you always prefer in the 'Distribution of Dignities, even before those who 'are daily defending your Privileges. Do not 'wonder if after so ungrateful a Preference, no 'body will give himself the trouble to take care 'of them. What can any body expect from a 'weak inconstant Multitude, who reward none 'but those who insult them the most intolerably?

Tumult in the Army. This Discourse enflamed the public Animosity, which together with *Posthumius*'s Threats ran to his very Army. The Soldiers were already but too much incensed at his having deprived them of the Plunder of *Vola*, contrary to his Promise; they no sooner heard what had passed in the *Forum*, but they cried, that the Republic was fostering a Tyrant in her Bosom; and the whole Army was in a Commotion little different from an open Sedition.

P. Sextius, *Quæstor*, having in his General's Absence gone about to arrest one Soldier who was more mutinous than the rest, received a Blow with a Stone from him, and his Comrades rescued him out of the Hands of those that had laid hold of him. *Posthumius*, informed of this Tumult, hastens to the Camp; but he exasperated the Soldiers more than ever by the Strictness of his Enquiries, and the Cruelty of his Punishments. After very rigid Examinations, he commanded the most guilty of the Soldiers to be put to Death *under the Hurdle*; their Comrades furiously tear them

them from thoſe who had ſeized them, and ſet them at Liberty: Theſe are new Leaders for the Sedition: The whole Camp riſes. *Poſthumius*, tranſported with Anger, comes down from his Tribunal, and preceded by his Lictors breaks thro' the Preſs, and goes to lay Hands on the Criminals; but he finds no Reſpect left to his Perſon, nor Obedience to his Orders; Force is oppoſed with Force, both Sides come to Blows, and in this Diſorder the General is ſlain by his own Soldiers. Liv. l. 4. c. 50. Flor. 1. c. 22. *Year of* Rome 339.

However odious *Poſthumius* had been, the People as well as the Senate abhorred ſo black an Action, and the Conſulate falling to *Cornelius* and *L. Furius Medullinus*, thoſe Magiſtrates were appointed to try the Criminals, and to inflict an exemplary Puniſhment upon them. The Conſuls however ſhewed great Moderation in this Affair; and, to avoid exaſperating the Spirits of the People, reſolv'd to puniſh only a ſmall Number of the moſt Mutinous, who 'tis believ'd killed themſelves. Thoſe wiſe Magiſtrates thought it more prudent to ſuppoſe the Army in general to be innocent, than to drive them into an open Revolt by too ſtrict an Examination. *Year of* Rome 340. Livy l. 4. c. 51.

It had been happy if the Senate and Conſuls had, to ſo prudent a Management, added the Partition of the Territory of *Vola* among ſuch Soldiers and Citizens as had remained in their Duty.

That had been the ſureſt way to have ſilenced all the factious Complaints of the Tribunes of the People, and to have inſenſibly taken off their Claims upon the Public Lands and Commons, which, after all, it was almoſt impoſſible for the Proprietors to juſtify their original Title to. But the People ſaw with Indignation, that the private Deſign of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them *Murmurings againſt the Nobles.*

them always in Poverty, as well for the ſake of their own Intereſt, as to make them more ſubmiſſive and dependent. And the Tribunes, to feed their Reſentment, were perpetually declaring in all the Aſſemblies, that *Rome* wou'd never be free while the *Patricians* kept the public Lands, and uſurped all the Dignities of the State to themſelves.

Almoſt continued Wars againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, the Plague which ſucceeded this firſt Calamity, and which produced a Famine, took the People off during the following Years from giving Ear to thoſe ſeditious Diſcourſes. But Peace and Plenty were no ſooner reſtored to the Commonwealth, but other Tribunes created new Diſſentions.

Year of Rome 344. Sp. Icilius C. Icilius. L. Icilius.

Three of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, of the Name of *Icilius*, all three Kinſmen, and of a Family in which a Hatred of the *Patricians* was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the Quæſtorſhip, which till then had never been out of the firſt Order: They firſt obtained to have the Election brought into the *Comitia by Tribes*. After having fed the People with Hopes of fine Colonies, and the Partition of the Lands, they publicly declared, that they muſt expect none of thoſe Benefits during their Tribuneſhip, if, of all the Dignities which by right ought to be common among all the Citizens of one and the ſame Republic, they cou'd not at leaſt aſpire to the Quæſtorſhip. The People, animated by their Tribunes, gave their Votes to *Q. Silius*, *P. Ælius* and *P. Papius*, all three *Plebeians*, who were the firſt Quæſtors of that Order; and of the *Patricians* that put up for that Dignity, none but *Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus* cou'd obtain it.

Liv. l. 4. 54. Id. l. 6.

Plebeian *Quæſtors.*

The Tribunes of the People look'd upon this Advantage as a Victory gained over the Nobility.

They flattered themſelves that the Quæſtorſhip wou'd now open them a way to the Military Tribuneſhip, the Conſulate and the Triumph. The *Icilii* cried publickly, that the time was at length come when the Honours of the Republic ſhou'd be ſhared equally among the People and the *Patricians*. In the next Election, they wou'd not even ſo much as hear of the Conſulſhip, only becauſe that Dignity was yet reſerved to the Nobles and *Patricians*. The Senate were forced to conſent to the Choice of Military Tribunes, who indeed had the ſame Power as the Conſuls, but whoſe Dignity was more agreeable to the People, becauſe themſelves were allowed to put up for it. The *Icilii* particularly aſpired to it openly. The Senate, alarmed at their ambitious Deſigns, annex't two Conditions to the electing of Military Tribunes, which tacitly excluded the *Icilii*: the firſt contained, that no *Plebeian* ſhou'd ſtand for the Military Tribuneſhip, when he had the ſame Year had the Office of Tribune of the People; the other, that no Tribune of the People ſhou'd be continued two Years together in the ſame Employment.

Decree of the Senate againſt the Icilii. *Year of* Rome 344.

The *Icilii* plainly ſaw they alone were the Men the Senate aimed at; they loſt all Hopes of arriving at that firſt Office in the Commonwealth, and when they had loſt it themſelves, they ſeemed indifferent whether any other *Plebeian* obtained it or no. Perhaps they wou'd even have been mortified to have ſeen that great Dignity in any other *Plebeian* Family, before their own had been honoured with it. Be it as it will, no conſiderable *Plebeian* appear'd as a Candidate; and the Senate had the Cunning to get ſome of the moſt wretched of the Populace to ſtand, at the ſame time that they asked that Office for Senators and *Patricians* illuſtrious for their Valour.

The

Division between the Senate and military Tribunes.

Year of Rome 345.

The People, disgusted with the Meanness of the Pretenders of their own Order, gave all their Voices to the Nobility; and *C. Julius Iulus*, *Corn. Cossus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala* were declared Military Tribunes; but they did not long enjoy that Sovereign Dignity. The *Volsci* having set on foot a powerful Army, the Senate according to Custom resolved to send a Dictator against them. As the absolute Authority of that Magistrate in a manner swallowed up the Power of all the inferior Officers, *Julius* and *Cornelius* Military Tribunes opposed his Election, and represented that they found in themselves sufficient Courage and Experience to command an Army, and that it was unjust to deprive them of a Dignity which they had so lately obtained by all the Votes of their Fellow-Citizens.

The Senate, exasperated at their Opposition, and Refusal to name a Dictator, had Recourse to the Tribunes of the People, as they had done before upon the like Occasion. But the Tribunes of this Year observed a different Conduct from their Predecessors; and tho' they were overjoyed to see this Dissention between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they answered with a scornful Raillery, that it was a Shame for so powerful a Body to implore the Aid of beggarly *Plebeians*, and of Men whom the Nobility scarce thought worthy to be reckoned their Fellow-Citizens; that if ever the Offices and Honours of the Republic were common among all the *Romans*, without Distinction of Birth or Wealth, then the People and their Magistrates shou'd know how to force a Respect to the Senate's Decrees; but that till then they wou'd have no hand in the different Pretensions of the Senate and the Military Tribunes.

These

These Conteſts drawing to no End, and the Enemies ſtill advancing towards the Frontier, *Servilius Ahala*, the third Military Tribune, declared publickly, that the Good of his Country was more dear to him than the Friendſhip of his Colleagues, and that if they wou'd not fairly conſent to chuſe a Dictator, he wou'd take upon him to name one himſelf: And accordingly being ſupported by the Authority of the whole Senate, he named for Dictator *P. Cornelius*, who afterwards choſe him himſelf for General of the Horſe. Liv. l. 4. 56, 57.

The War was not of long Continuance; the *Volſci* were defeated near the City of *Antium*; their Territory was plundered, and a great Number of Priſoners taken. After this Expedition the Dictator laid down his Poſt; but the two Tribunes, diſcontented with the Senate for having deprived them of the Glory they hoped to have acquired in this War, inſtead of propoſing the Election of Conſuls for the enſuing Year, only demanded Military Tribunes, as the moſt zealous Tribune of the People wou'd have done.

The Senate, who were always fearful that the People wou'd at length be brought to give that Dignity, either to their own Tribunes or to ſome of the principal *Plebeian*, were touched to the quick, to ſee their Intereſts betrayed even by thoſe of their own Order. But as it was not in their Power to annul the Publication of the Aſſembly made by the Magiſtrates of the Republic, they obliged the chief of their own Body, and ſuch as were moſt agreeable to the People for their Moderation and Valour, to demand the Tribuneſhip. And notwithſtanding all the Brigues of the *Plebeian* Tribunes, none but *Patricians* were *Year of* Rome 346.

Diodor. l. 14. were chosen for Military Tribunes, and *C. Valerius*, *C. Servilius*, *L. Furius*, and *Fabius Vibulanus* were raised to that high Office.

The Senate kept the same Advantage the following Year, and were again powerful enough in the Election to procure the same Post for *P. Cornelius*, *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius* and *Fabius Ambustus*, all *Patricians*, and of the best Families in the Commonwealth.

Year of Rome 347.

It is impossible to express the Rage and Fury that the Tribunes of the People shew'd at seeing themselves so long excluded from an Honour to which they were capable of being admitted. They took the Opportunity of a new War which the Senate wanted to make against the *Veïentes*, to wreak their Revenge. The Inhabitants of *Veii* had carried off some Booty without any previous Declaration of War. Ambassadors had been sent to demand Satisfaction for this Insult; but instead of excusing or justifying their Incursions, they drove away those Ambassadors with Contempt. The Senate, yet more provoked at this insolent Behaviour than at their Robberies, proposed it to the People to revenge this Injury, and to carry their Arms into *Tuscany*. The People, poisoned by their Tribunes, shewed a very great Indifference for this Proposal. They said it was not prudent to engage in a new War, while that of the *Volsci* was not yet terminated; that the Commonwealth had not Forces enough to withstand two such warlike Nations at the same time; that not a Year pass'd without their fighting some Battel; that these frequent Engagements exhausted the purest Blood of *Rome*, and cut off all their Youth; neither did the *Plebeians*, who filled the Legions, draw the least Advantage from these continual Wars.

The

The Tribunes, on their ſide, cried in all the Aſſemblies, that the Senate perpetuated the War only to keep the *Plebeians* out of the City, for fear, if they were at *Rome*, they ſhou'd revive the juſt Pretenſions they had to the public Lands, or by the Numerouſneſs of their Suffrages raiſe their Tribunes to the chief Dignities in the Republic. 'And in ſhort, ſaid thoſe ſeditious Ma-'giſtrates to them, you need ſeek your real E-'nemies no where but in *Rome*. The greateſt 'War you have to maintain, is that which the 'Senate has ſo long carried on againſt the *Roman* 'People.

Senate fixes the Soldiers Pay.

The Senate finding ſo much Repugnance in the People's Minds to the War with the *Veïentes*, thought it proper to wait a more favourable Opportunity to regain the Confidence of the Multitude, and remove the Complaints they made againſt the length of the War. They reſolved to provide for the Subſiſtance of the Soldier in ſuch a manner, that they ſhou'd not be at all obliged for it to the Tribunes. All the *Roman* Citizens, till then, uſed to go to the War at their own Expence; every Man was forced, out of his own little Inheritance, to maintain himſelf as well during the Campaign as in Winter-Quarters; and oftentimes when the Campaign was too long, the Lands, eſpecially thoſe of the poor *Plebeians*, lay fallow. This occaſioned Borrowing, Uſury multiplied by Intereſts, and afterwards Complaints and Seditions of the People. The Senate, to prevent theſe Diſorders, decreed of themſelves, and without being importuned by the Tribunes, that for the future the Soldiers ſhou'd be paid out of the public Money; and that to furniſh this Expence, a new Tax ſhou'd be raiſed, from which no Citizen whatſoever ſhou'd be exempt.

Year of Rome 347. Livy l. 4. sub fin. Diod. l. 4.

Upon the first News of this *Senatusconsultum*, the People were transported with Joy; they ran from all Parts to the Gates of the Palace. Some kissed the Hands of the Senators, others called them the Fathers of the People, and all protested they were ready to spill the very last Drop of their Blood for their Country, which they now looked upon as a Mother liberal and generous to all her Children.

The Tribunes murmur at it.

In this universal Gladness, the Tribunes of the People were remarkable for their sullen and envious Countenances. The Union of all the Orders, hindered them from making themselves considerable. As they never shone more than in the Divisions of the State, they gave out that the Senate bestowed Largesses at a very cheap Rate; that the People must be very blind if they did not perceive that this their Pay wou'd come out of their own Pockets; nay, that it was not just for those who till then had been at the Wars at their own Charge, and had compleated the time of their Service, to be taxed to pay the new Soldiers that succeeded them in the Armies; that for their Parts they were firmly resolved never to pay this new Imposition; and that they offered their Service, and the whole Authority which their Office gave them, to defend those who wou'd follow their Example.

They hoped by means of the Power they had over the Minds of the People, to get them to reject this Favour, which was odious to them, only because it came from the Senate. But a certain and immediate Benefit, and especially the Example of the chief Men among them, who readily paid their Contingents, prevailed above all the seditious Harangues of the Tribunes. The *Senatusconsultum* was ratified by a *Plebiscitum*, and the general Consent of the People. Every Man ran

Year of Rome 347.

eagerly

eagerly to pay a ſlight Tribute proportion'd to his Eſtate, which was to bring him in a conſiderable Advantage in return. As there were in thoſe Days but little coined Money, Carts loaden with Braſs were every Day ſeen going to the Treaſury with the Contributions of private Men, which the Treaſurers received by weight.

End of the Sixth Book.





THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTIONS That happened in the GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VII.

The Romans *inveſt the City of* Veii, *which coſts them a Ten Years Siege. A* Tribune *of the People propoſes to make that City a ſecond* Rome, *by ſending half of the Senate, of the Knights, and of the People, to inhabit it. The Senators, with much Struggling, bring this Deſign to nothing.* Camillus *being attack'd*

attack'd by the Tribunes, *leaves* Rome, *and takes Refuge in* Ardea. *An Army of* Gauls, *commanded by* Brennus, *penetrates into* Tuſcany, *and beſieges* Cluſium. *The* Tuſcans *beg Succour of the* Romans. *Theſe latter ſolicit* Brennus *by Ambaſſadors, who, through their Imprudence, oblige that General to declare War againſt their Country. The Battel of* Allia. Rome *taken and burnt. The Siege of the* Capitol. Camillus *Dictator. The* Gauls *cut in Pieces.* Rome *rebuilt.* Manlius Capitolinus, *accuſed of aſpiring to be made King of* Rome, *is thrown headlong from the Top of the* Capitol. *After a great many Cabals and Stirs, which the* Plebeians *had in vain made, to procure one of the Places in the Conſulſhip for their own Body, they at laſt obtain what they ſo earneſtly deſire; and owe this Succeſs to the Tears of a Woman.* Sextius *is the firſt* Plebeian *Conſul. The* Præture: *The Curule* Ædility. *Theſe two New Dignities are appropriated to the* Patricians, *in Excluſion of the* Plebeians. C. Licinius Stolo, *Author of the* Lex Licinia, *is the firſt that is condemn'd in a Fine for violating it.*

BESIDES the Eaſe of the People, the Senate in allotting Funds for the Payment of the Troops, had at the ſame Time a View of enabling themſelves to carry on the War farther, and maintain it longer. Before this Regulation, they did not ſo much make War as Incurſions, which were generally terminated by one Battel. Theſe petty Wars laſted not above twenty or thirty Days, and oftentimes not ſo long; the Soldiers, for want of Pay, not being able to keep the Field for a longer Time together. But when the Senate ſaw it in their Power to keep up a regular Body of

Liv. in fine l. 4. Diod. l. 14.

Siege of Veii. *Year of* Rome 347.

Troops at all times, they formed greater Projects, and laid a Design to besiege *Veii*, one of the strongest Places in *Italy*, the Bulwark of *Tuscany*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the Valour nor Wealth of its Inhabitants.

The *Tuscans* lived in the Form of a Republic like the *Sabins*, the *Volsci*, the *Romans*, and most of the other Nations of *Italy*. The City of *Veii* only, which was the most powerful of that Community, had lately chosen themselves a King; and this Change in the Government, had made the other petty States of that Province less zealous for its Interests.

The *Romans*, inform'd of this Indifference, resolved to take Revenge for the Devastations which the *Veïentes* had made in the Territory of *Rome*. After having put an advantageous Conclusion to the War against the *Volsci*, they made it their whole Care to raise such a powerful Army, as might be answerable to the Greatness of this Enterprize.

Dec. 1. l. 3. c. 1.

Livy tells us, they chose Eight Military *Tribunes* on purpose; which had never been known before in the Republic, tho' other Historians take notice but of Six. We find another Difference in Authors, upon occasion of this Siege: Some place the Tribunate of *M. Furius Camillus*, and of *Appius Claudius Crassus*, in the 348th Year of *Rome*; and others say, they did not attain that Dignity till the 350th. Neither is it very certain whether *Camillus* was not rather *Censor* this Year, than Military Tribune. Whichsoever of these different Opinions be right, we shall find by the Sequel of this History, that these two Magistrates had the chief Glory of this War.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9.

Appius was Grandson of the *Decemvir*, and Son of another *Appius Claudius*, who was military Tribune in the 329th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. This Conformity of both Names, which

we ſo often meet with in the Senators of the *Claudian* Family, ſhews that they were all the Eldeſt Sons of their Houſe, according to the Practice of *Rome*, where the Eldeſt Son always bore the ſame Name as his Father; whereas the younger were diſtinguiſhed by Names, either from the Order of their Birth, or from the Time or Hour in which they were named. *Appius* ſtay'd at *Rome* to curb the Tribunes, and to ſuppreſs the uſual Seditions of the People; *Camillus* in quality of military Tribune, and afterwards as Dictator, brought this Siege to a happy Iſſue.

Year of Rome 348. *War in Winter.*

We may judge of the Strength of the Place by the Length of the Siege, which laſted ten whole Years, with various Succeſs. The *Roman* Generals, rather than diſcontinue it, built Lodgments to defend the Soldiers againſt the Severities of Winter. The Tribunes had no ſooner heard of this, but they immediately made it a Pretence to raiſe their common Outcry againſt the Senate. They ſaid in every Aſſembly, That indeed they always feared, the Gifts of the Senate concealed ſome hidden Poiſon; That this new Pay, which they valued themſelves ſo much upon, was only a Bait which the *Patricians* had made uſe of to deceive the People: That indeed it had been the Price of their Liberty: That the military Tribunes, by detaining the Soldiers in the Camp during Winter, had viſibly no other End, but to deprive the People's Party of the Help of their Votes: That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign deſpotically in all the Aſſemblies: But that they ought to make them know, that they govern'd Men who were free; and that the People ſhould order the Generals to bring the Troops back to *Rome* at the End of every Campaign, ſo that the poor Citizen who daily expos'd his Life in the Defence of his Country, might enjoy a little Reſt, have the Pleaſure of ſeeing his Houſe, his Wife, and his Chil-

The Tribunes murmur.

dren, and give his Voice in the Election of the Magistrates.

Appius's *Speech against the Tribunes.* Liv. l. 5. c. 3. Plut. in Cam. Oros. l. 2. c. 19.

Appius, whom the military Tribunes had left at *Rome* to oppose the Measures of the Tribunes of the People, being informed of these seditious Speeches, called an Assembly, and complained at first with a great deal of Gentleness and Moderation, That the *Forum* was become the public Rendezvous of all the mutinous Spirits, and the Theatre of all Seditions: That the Senate, the Magistrates, and the Laws were publickly despis'd; and that the Tribunes of the People had now nothing farther to do, but to go into the very Camp to corrupt the Army, and draw it away from its Obedience to its Generals. He reproached them, That they studied nothing but how to break off all Union between the several Orders of the State: That they were the only Authors of all Divisions; That they were every Day fomenting them by their seditious Harangues; and that, greater Enemies to *Rome* than the *Veïentes* themselves, they matter'd little how the Siege went, provided they hinder'd the *Patrician* Generals from obtaining Glory in it. "We should either not have undertaken this Siege, added he, or we should continue it. Shall we abandon our Camp, our Legions, the Forts we have erected from Distance to Distance, our Towers, our Mantelets and our Gabions; and so have all the same Works to begin again the next Summer? But who will promise your Tribunes, who give you such wholsome Advice, that all *Tuscany*, sacrificing the Aversion they have for the King of the *Veientes* to the true Interest of their Country, will not take Arms, and come to their Assistance? Can you so much as doubt that the *Veïentes*, during the Intermission of the Siege, will put Troops and Ammunition into the Town? Who can assure you, that they will not even be before-

hand

" hand with you the next Year, and that grown " ſtronger, and provoked by the Ravage we have " made of their Lands, they will not come and " plunder ours? But what Contempt will it not " bring upon the Republic, if the Nations bor- " dering upon *Rome*, who are now jealous of her " Greatneſs, ſhall find that your Generals, fet- " ter'd by the new Laws of your Tribunes, dare " not finiſh a Siege, nor keep the Field a Mo- " ment after the fine Weather is over? Where- " as nothing will make the *Roman* People more " dreadful, than their ſhewing that no Severity " of the Seaſons is able to put a Stop to their " Enterprizes; and that they are firmly reſolved " to conquer, or die at the Foot of the Ene- " mies Ramparts?

An advantageous Loſs to the Romans.

The People, prejudiced by their Tribunes, gave no great heed to *Appius*'s Repreſentation; but a Loſs which the *Romans* ſuffered at the Siege, brought about what that prudent Diſcourſe could not effect. The *Veïentes*, in a Sally, ſurpriz'd the Beſiegers, ſlew a great Number of them, ſet Fire to their Machines, and ruined moſt of their Works. This News, inſtead of depreſſing the Spirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new Ardor for the Continuation of the Siege. The Knights, whom the State was to furniſh with Horſes, offered to mount themſelves at their own Expence. The People after their Example cried out, they were ready to march to ſupply the Places of the Soldiers that were loſt, and ſwore they would never leave the Camp till the City was taken. The Senate gave great Praiſes to All. It was reſolved to allow Pay to all the Voluntiers that would go to the Siege. At the ſame Time they ſettled a particular Pay for the Horſe, and this was the firſt Time that the Cavalry was paid out of the public Treaſury.

Year of Rome 350. Plut. in Camillo. V. Oroſ. l. 2. c. 19.

The Cavalry now for the firſt time paid out of the publick Treaſury.

The Tribunes of the People ſaw, not without great Uneaſineſs and Jealouſy, that the Loſs juſt menti-

Liv. l. 5. c. 7.

mentioned, inſtead of raiſing the Complaints and Murmurs of the Multitude, had only increaſed the Warmth and Courage of all Orders and Degrees, for the carrying on of the Siege. But a new Defeat furniſhed them with an Occaſion and Pretence of inveighing againſt the Senate with Impunity.

Year of Rome 351.

The *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, People of *Tuſcany*, neareſt to the *Veïentes*, and conſequently moſt concerned in their Preſervation, armed privately. They joined their Troops, ſurprized and attacked the Enemies Camp. *L. Virginius*, and *M. Sergius*, both military Tribunes, commanded at this Siege. The Jealouſy, ſo common in an equal Authority, had ſet them at Variance: Each had a Body of Troops under his Command, which were divided as it were into two different Camps. The Enemies on one Side fall upon that of *Sergius*, at the ſame Time that the Beſieged make a Sally by Agreement, and attack the other. The Soldier who thinks he has all the Forces in *Tuſcany* to deal with, is diſmay'd, fights faintly, and rather to defend his own Life, than to attack his Enemy's. It is not long before he ſeeks his Safety in a haſty Flight, all give Way, and the Rout becomes general. None but *Virginius* could ſave his Colleague's Army. His Troops were ranged in Order of Battel; but the Animoſity between thoſe two Generals was ſo great, that *Sergius* choſe rather to periſh, than to ask the Aſſiſtance of one he hated. *Virginius* on his Side, overjoyed to ſee him beaten, refuſed his own Officers leave to go to his Succour, unleſs he would ſend and beg it. The Enemy improved the Diviſion of the Leaders: *Sergius*'s Army fled in Diſorder to *Rome*, which was but ſix Leagues diſtant from the Camp, and *Sergius* went thither himſelf, not ſo much to juſtify his own Conduct, as to ſet forth the Blackneſs of that of his Colleague.

Jealouſy between the two Generals. The Conſequences thereof.

The

The Senate in this Confuſion, ſent Orders to *Virginius* to leave his Army under the Command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to anſwer to the Complaints which his Colleague preferred againſt him. The Diſpute was manag'd with great Acrimony, and the two military Tribunes ran into Invectives againſt each other. The Senate finding them equally guilty, the one in not having fought with ſufficient Courage, and the other in ſuffering his Fellow-Citizens to periſh, rather than ſave his Colleague, decreed that all the Tribunes of that Year ſhould lay down their Dignity, and the People immediately proceed to a new Election. The two Tribunes at firſt argued againſt paying Obedience to this Decree, under pretence that their Authority was not expired. The Tribunes of the People laid hold on this Occaſion to enlarge their Power, and threaten'd the two Generals that they would cauſe them to be impriſoned, if they did not obey the Senate's Orders. *Servilius Ahala*, the firſt Military Tribune, full of Indignation at the haughty manner in which theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates treated his Colleagues: "You have no Right, ſays he, to threa-" ten thoſe who are ſuperior to you in Dignity. " My Colleagues are not ignorant of the Submiſ-" ſion we all owe to the Decrees of the Senate, " and if they are refractory to its Commands, I will " name a Dictator, who by his abſolute Authority " ſhall be able, without your Interpoſition, to force " them to quit their Office.

Military Tribunes ſummoned from the Army to Rome.

The two Tribunes finding it impoſſible to reſiſt this unanimous Conſent of the Senate, abdicated their Magiſtracy, and the People proceeded to a new Election.

They lay down their Magiſtracy.

But the Tribunes of the People were not ſatisfied with the Depoſal of thoſe two Generals; and while thoſe who were choſen in their Room, led a new Army to the Siege of *Veii*, thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates

Accuſed.

giſtrates ſummoned *Sergius* and *Virginius* before the Aſſembly of the People. They forgot nothing upon this Occaſion, that might inflame the Minds of the Multitude, not only againſt the two Perſons accuſed, but alſo againſt the whole Body of the Senate.

Year of Rome 352.

They repreſented with as much Art as Malice, that the ſole Aim of that Society was to diminiſh the Number of the People, to weaken its Power, to hinder its Aſſemblies, or at leaſt to defer the convening of them. That the late Misfortune ought not to be look'd upon as one of thoſe common Miſchances which may happen to the very greateſt Captains, but that it was contrived in conſequence of this ſecret Deſign laid to deſtroy the People: That the Generals, after having ſpent ſeveral Campaigns in the Siege or Blockade of *Veii*, had ſuffered their Gabions to be burnt, their Forts to be taken, and all their Works to be ruined, only to prolong the War: That after this, *Sergius*'s Camp was ſold to the Enemy: That this General, rather than deſire Aid of his Colleague, had choſe to let his Soldiers be cut to Pieces; and that *Virginius* beheld this Rout of the Legions as a Victory, which without his drawing his Sword, delivered him and his Party from ſo many Enemies as there were *Plebeians* in thoſe different Troops: That after ſo infamous an Action, the Senate yet fancied they could impoſe upon the People, by obliging the two Generals to leave the Command of their Armies: But that the People ought to ſhew by a ſevere Puniſhment of the Criminals, that they were not to be deceived by ſo groſs an Artifice: That in order to prevent the ill Deſigns of the Nobility for the future, they ſhould fill the Military Tribunate with brave *Plebeians*, who would be equally watchful for the Defence of their Country, and the particular Preſervation of the Populace.

Sergius

Sergius in vain alledged in his Excuſe, the ordinary Chance of War, the Terror that was ſpread through his Army, and the Treachery of his Colleague, who had abandoned, and as it were given him up to the Enemy, who attack'd him on two different Sides. No Diſtinction was made between Misfortune and Guilt; he was condemned to pay a great Fine as well as *Virginius*, tho' he pleaded that it was unjuſt to puniſh him for the Faults of his Colleague. *Condemn'd.* Liv. l. 5. c. 12.

The Tribunes of the People, taking occaſion of the general Animoſity they had raiſed againſt the *Patricians*, never left repreſenting to the Multitude in all the Aſſemblies, that the Time was come to free themſelves from the Tyranny of the Senate. That they ſhould take the Sovereign Authority, and chief Dignities of the Republic, out of the Hands of the *Sergii* and *Virginii*, and give them to *Plebeians* worthy of thoſe honourable Employments. They exclaim in Public, that the Liberty of the People was in Danger. They make Intereſt, and form Cabals in private: In a word, they ſo beſtir themſelves, that in the two next Elections, they get *Plebeians* named for military Tribunes. A new Revolution in the Government of the Republic, but the Conſequences whereof were fatal to the State, in ſeveral Advantages which the Enemies of *Rome* gained over the Armies commanded by *Plebeians*. Plebeians *named for military Tribunes.* *Years of* Rome 353. 354.

A contagious Diſtemper ſucceeded theſe Defeats. The People in Conſternation had Recourſe to the Gods; the Temples were crowded Day and Night with Men, Women and Children, imploring their Clemency. The *Duumvirs*, after conſulting the ſacred Books of the *Sybils*, ordered the *Lectiſternium*. This was an antient Ceremony, in which they took the Statues of the Gods down from their Niches; they for eight Days together ſerved them up magnificent Repaſts, as if they had been capa- *A Plague.* *Year of* Rome 354. *The* Lectiſternium. Liv. l. 5. c. 13. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 3. c. 17.

ble of making uſe of them; the Citizens, each according to his Ability, kept open Houſe. They invited indifferently Friends and Foes; Strangers were particularly well received; they ſet the Priſoners at Liberty; and it was a Point of Conſcience, not to take them up again after the Feſtival was over.

The *Patricians* taking Advantage of this Diſpoſition in Mens Minds, turned theſe Misfortunes of the Republic into a religious Myſtery. They aſcribed them to the Wrath of the Gods, who, they ſaid, were diſpleaſed, that in the laſt Elections ſufficient Regard was not had to the Nobility, who alone had Inſpection over Sacrifices. Theſe Reaſons, much more powerful than all the Orations of the Tribunes of the People, prevailed over the Minds of the Multitude. Every Body look'd upon the Misfortunes of the Republic, as the infallible Interpreters of the Will of the Gods; and for fear of provoking them more, they failed not, in the next Election, to reſtore the Military Tribunate to the *Patricians* alone.

Year of Rome 355, 356.

The Siege went on but ſlowly, and the whole Power of the *Roman* Arms was ſpent in ravaging the Lands of the Enemy. The War was yet more unſucceſsful the following Year; and they oblig'd the Military Tribunes, with whom they were diſſatisfied, to abdicate their Dignity, under Colour that ſome Ceremony had been omitted in the *Auſpices* taken for their Election: A Pretence which the two Parties made Uſe of by Turns, to depoſe the Magiſtrates they did not like. They had Recourſe upon this Occaſion, as in a public Calamity, to a *Dictator*. M. Furius Camillus was raiſed to this Supreme Dignity; which he owed only to the Need wherein the Republic thought ſhe ſtood of ſo great a Captain: A Time when ſuperior Merit, without making the leaſt Intereſt, naturally falls into its right Place. It had already been obſerved,

Conſequences of the Siege of Veii.

Year of Rome 357. Camillus *Dictator.*

obſerved, that in all the Employments which CAMILLUS had ſhared with Colleagues, his great Valour and extraordinary Capacity had gained him the Honour of the whole Command, as if he had governed in chief; and it was afterwards found, that during his Dictatorſhips, he ruled with ſo much Gentleneſs and Moderation, that the Officers who obey'd his Orders, thought they took part in his Authority. He named for General of the Horſe *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and at the ſame time raiſed a great Body of Troops. The People ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under his Banners; every Body was for going to the Wars with a General whom Victory had never deſerted. The Allies themſelves ſent to offer him a ſtrong Supply of their choiceſt Youth. The Dictator immediately repaired to the Camp before *Veii:* His mere Preſence reſtored the Military Diſcipline, which had been very much ſlacken'd ſince the Diviſion and Defeat of the Military Tribunes. The Place was more ſtraitly incloſed, and by his Order the Forts repaired which the Enemy had ruined. He then marched againſt the *Faliſci* and the *Capenates*, whom he defeated in a pitch'd Battel; and after this Victory, which left him the Country open, he returned to the Siege, and puſhed it on with great Vigour.

Plut. in vita Cam. Diod. *l.* 24.

The Beſieged defended themſelves with no leſs Courage. The Dictator, fearing he ſhould not carry by Aſſault or open Force, a Town which had a whole Army for its Gariſon, had Recourſe to Mines and Sapping. His Soldiers, by hard Labour, and without being diſcovered by the Beſieged, open'd themſelves a private Paſſage to the very Caſtle; thence they ſpread themſelves through the Town; one Body fell upon the Rear of thoſe that ſtill defended the Walls; another broke down the Gates; and the whole Army ruſhed into the Place. The unhappy *Veïentes* felt the firſt Fury of the Conqueror.

Veii *taken.* 357*th Year of* Rome.

ror. They ſpared only thoſe whom they found unarm'd; and the Soldier, yet more covetous than cruel, fell to plunder with the Leave of the General.

The Length of the Siege, the Dangers there had been in it, the Uncertainty of Succeſs, all this made the News of the taking this Town be receiv'd at *Rome* with the utmoſt Tranſport and Joy. All the Temples were filled with *Roman* Ladies, and four Days were ſet apart for a Publick Thankſgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practis'd in the Republic upon the greateſt Succeſs. The very Triumph of the Dictator had ſomething particular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a ſtately Chariot drawn by Four Horſes, all Milk-white.

Camillus's *Triumph.*

This Singularity diſpleaſed the People; and in the midſt of the Praiſes they gave the Dictator, they could not, without a ſecret Indignation, behold this chief Magiſtrate, affecting a Pomp formerly reſerved to the Royalty, and ſince the Expulſion of the Kings, conſecrated only to the Worſhip of the Gods. This diminiſhed their Eſteem and Affection for CAMILLUS: And the Reſiſtance he afterwards made againſt ſome Propoſals of one of the Tribunes, finiſhed the making him odious to the Multitude.

Camillus *hinders the* Romans *from repeopling* Veii. *Year of* Rome 358. Liv. l. 5. Plut. vita Camilli.

T. Sicinius Dentatus, Tribune of the People, propoſed to make a ſecond *Rome* of the City of *Veii*, by ſending thither one half of the Senate, Knights, and People to dwell there. He repreſented its Situation, Strength, Magnificence of its Buildings, and its Territory more extenſive and fruitful than that of *Rome* herſelf: And he added, that the *Romans* might the more eaſily by this Means preſerve their Conqueſts.

The People, always fond of Novelties, receiv'd theſe Propoſals with great Demonſtrations of Joy. The Affair, according to Cuſtom, was carried firſt before the Senate. CAMILLUS, who was but juſt

out

out of his Dictatorſhip, oppos'd it ſtrongly. Not but that it had been a great Honour to him, to ſee ſo great a Town that he had conquer'd, inhabited by *Romans*; and he might conſider, that the more Inhabitants it had, the more Witneſſes there would be of his Glory. But he thought it was a Crime to carry the *Roman* People into a Captive Land, and to prefer the Country of the Vanquiſh'd to that which was Victor. He added, it ſeem'd to him impoſſible, that two ſuch powerful Cities ſhould long continue in Peace, live under the ſame Laws, and yet form but one Republic: That theſe two Cities would by degrees grow two different States; which, after having made War upon one another, would at length become a Prey to their Common Enemies.

The Senators and principal of the Nobility, *Year of* Rome 359. mov'd with the Remonſtrances of this chief Citizen of the Republic, declared they would die in the Preſence of the *Roman* People, before they would leave their Country. All of them, both old and young, went to the Place where the People was aſſembled; and mixing with the Crowd, conjured them with Tears in their Eyes, not to abandon that auguſt City, which was one Day to be Miſtreſs of the whole World, and to which the Gods had made ſuch glorious Promiſes. They then pointed to the Capitol, and ask'd the *Plebeians*, if they could have the Heart to leave *Jupiter*, *Veſta*, *Romulus*, and the other Guardian Deities of the City, to follow a *Sicinius*, who, by this fatal Diviſion, only ſought to ruin the Commonwealth. In a word, theſe prudent Senators having taken the People by Motives of Religion, they could not withſtand them. They yielded, though unwillingly, to that inward Power, which is conſtantly produced by the Prejudices of Education. *Sicinius*'s Propoſal was rejected by Plurality of Voices; and the Senate, as a kind of Reward to the People for

360th Year of Rome. Liv. l. 5. c. 30.

their Compliance, decreed, by the Advice of CAMILLUS, that seven Acres of the Lands of the *Veientes*, should be distributed to every Master of a Family; and in order to induce free Persons to marry, and to enable them to raise Children, that might in Time be serviceable to the Commonwealth, a Proportion should be allowed to them also.

Concord restored.

The People, charm'd with this Liberality, shower'd great Praises upon the Senate. Concord was again seen flourishing between those two Orders; nay, the People, in Deference to the Senate, consented even that the Consulate should be restored. Under the Government of these *Patrician* Magistrates,

360, 361.

the *Æqui* were conquer'd; and the *Falisci* submitted to the Republic. All these Advantages were ascribed to the Wisdom and Valour of CAMILLUS. They were so many fresh Injuries with respect to the Tribunes, who could not forgive him this Union between the People and Senate, which they look'd upon as his Work, and as the Extinction of their Authority.

The Tribunes accuse Camillus.

They would gladly have eased themselves of him, who alone was more formidable to them than the whole Senate. But it was a difficult Thing to attack a Man revered by his Fellow-Citizens for his Virtues, adored by the Soldiers, and never found to have any other Interest at Heart beside that of his Country.

His Piety soon after furnished them with a Pretence, which their Envy and Hatred could not help them to. That General, just before he order'd his Troops to mount the Assault at the Siege of *Veij*, had made a Vow to consecrate the tenth Part of the Booty to *Apollo*. But when the City was won, amidst the Disorder and Confusion of the Plunder, he remember'd not his Vow. And when the Tenderness of his Conscience recalled the

the Memory of it, every Thing was gone. There was no poſſible Way of obliging the Soldiers to reſtore Effects which they had either conſumed, or otherwiſe parted with. In this Perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who had any Fear of the Gods, ſhould themſelves compute the Value of their Booty, and bring the tenth Part of that Value to the Queſtors, in order to make an Offering worthy of the Piety and Majeſty of the *Roman* People.

This Contribution, exacted at a wrong Time, irritated the People againſt *Camillus*. Their Tribunes greedily ſeiz'd this Occaſion of falling upon him. They recalled the Memory of his Triumph, in which, contrary to Cuſtom, he appear'd in a Chariot drawn by four White Horſes. They added, that this haughty *Patrician*, whoſe Policy it was to keep the People always in Indigence, feigned to have vow'd to the Gods the tenth Part of the Plunder at *Veij*, only for a Pretence of Tithing the Wealth of the Soldier, and dreining the People. Hereupon, one of thoſe Tribunes, called *Lucius Apuleïus*, ſummon'd him before the Aſſembly of the People, and accuſed him of having embezzled out of the Pillage at *Veij*, certain Braſs Gates that were ſeen in his Houſe. 362d Year of Rome.

CAMILLUS, ſurprized at this new kind of Accuſation, aſſembled his Friends, and the chief of his Tribe, at his own Houſe; and conjured them not to ſuffer their General to be condemn'd upon ſo weak a Pretence. Theſe *Plebeians*, prepoſſeſs'd by their Tribunes, after having taken Counſel among themſelves, reply'd, that they would willingly pay the Fine to which he ſhould be condemned; but that it was not in their Power to get him acquitted. CAMILLUS, deteſting their Weakneſs, reſolv'd rather to baniſh himſelf from *Rome* of his own Accord, than to have the Shame of Condemnation affixed to his Name. He at his Departure Plut. in Cam. Camillus goes into Exile.

parture embraced his Wife and Children; and without being followed by any Body of Note, came to the Gate of the City. It is related, that he then ſtopp'd, and turning towards the Capitol, pray'd the Gods, that his ungrateful Countrymen might quickly repent their having repay'd his Services with ſo ſharp an Outrage; and that their own Calamities might oblige them to recal him. He retired to *Ardea*, a City not far from *Rome*, where he heard that he was fined Fifteen thouſand *Aſſes*, which may amount to about 150 Crowns of our Money.

Year of Rome 362. Liv. l. 5. Plut. in. vita Cam. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 3. Polyb.

Irruption of the Gauls.

It was believed that the Imprecations of this great Man call'd down the Anger of the Gods, and brought on the bloody War which the *Gauls* made againſt the *Romans*. At leaſt theſe two Events followed each other ſo cloſe, that the People, always ſuperſtitious, aſcribed the Loſs of *Rome* to the Baniſhment of *Camillus*.

Liv. Diod. Sicul. Plu. Appi. in Celt.

The firſt Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Italy*, happened in the Reign of *Tarquin* the *Ancient*, about the Year of the World Three thouſand four hundred and ſixteen, and from the Foundation of *Rome* the hundred and ſixty-fifth. *Ambigatus* then reigned over the whole *Celtic Gaul*. This Prince finding thoſe great Provinces too much crowded with Inhabitants, ſet two of his Nephews, *Sigoveſus* and *Belloveſus*, at the Head of a flouriſhing Youth, whom he obliged to look out for new Settlements Abroad: Either that it was the common Cuſtom which was ſtill practiſed in the *North* to the very tenth Century; or that *Ambigatus* had recourſe to theſe Military Colonies, to get rid of an active, reſtleſs, and turbulent Number of Youth: Be this as it will, the Chance of *Augury* ſent *Sigoveſus* beyond the *Rhine*; where taking his Way thro' the Foreſt of *Hircinia*, he opened himſelf a Paſſage by Force of Arms, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Bohemia*, and the neighbouring Pro-

Provinces. *Bellovesus* turned to *Italy*, and, after having passed the *Alps*, the *Senones*, and People of *Mans*, who were most numerous in his Army, settled in those fine Provinces that are between the Mountains of the *Alps*, those of the *Apennine*, the River *Tesin*, and the River *Jesi*, which falls into the Sea on this Side *Ancona*. There they established themselves, and to them by some Authors is ascribed the Origin and Foundation of the Cities of *Milan*, *Verona*, *Padua*, *Brescia*, *Como*, and several other Towns in those Parts, which subsist at this Day. The first War they had with the *Romans*, was about the Year of the World 3616, two hundred Years after their Passage into *Italy*. They were then besieging *Clusium*, a City of *Tuscany*. The Inhabitants fearing to fall into the Hands of these *Barbarians* implored the Assistance of the *Romans*, though they had no other Reason to expect it, but that in the last War, they did not take Arms in favour of the *Veientes*, as most of the other Nations of *Hetruria* had done. The Senate, who had no particular Alliance with that City, only sent an Embassy of three young *Patricians*, all three Brothers, and of the *Fabian* Family, to bring about an Accommodation between the two Nations. These Ambassadors being arrived at the Camp of the *Gauls*, were conducted into the Council. They offered the Mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus*, the King or Leader of these *Transalpine Gauls*, what Pretensions a strange People could have upon *Tuscany*; or whether They in particular had received any Injury from those of *Clusium*? *Brennus* answered proudly, that his Right lay in his Sword, and that all Things belong'd to the Brave and Valiant; but that without having Recourse to this primitive Law of Nature, he had a just Complaint against the *Clusians*, who having much more Lands than they could cultivate, had refused to give him those they left untilled.

Clusium *besieged.*

Behaviour of the Roman *Ambassadors.*

Year of Rome 362.

"They do Us (added he) the same Wrong that "you formerly receiv'd from the *Sabines*, the "*Albans*, the *Fidenates*, and that you now daily "suffer from the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and all your "Neighbours in general, whom, Sword in hand, "you deprived of the best Part of their Territory; "therefore cease to interpose in behalf of the *Clu-*"*sians*, for fear your Example should teach us to "defend those whom you have stripped of their "ancient Inheritance.

The *Fabii*, enraged at so haughty an Answer, dissembled their Resentment; and, under Pretence of wanting to confer with the Magistrates of *Clusium*, in quality of Mediators, desir'd Leave to go into the Town. But they were no sooner there, than instead of acting according to their Character, and performing the Office of Ministers of Peace, these Ambassadors, too young for an Employment that requires the utmost Prudence, suffering themselves to be carried away by their Courage, and the Fire of Youth, stirred up the Inhabitants to a vigorous Defence. To set them an Example, they put themselves at their Head in a Sally, and *Q. Fabius*, the chief of the Embassy, slew with his own Hand one of the principal Captains of the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, justly provoked at such a Proceeding, acted not like a Barbarian; he sent an Herald to *Rome*, to demand that those Ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the Law of Nations, should be deliver'd up to him; and in case of Refusal, the same Herald had Orders to declare War against the *Romans*.

The Gauls *complain.*

The Herald being come to *Rome*, and having declared his Message, the Affair was put into Deliberation: The wisest of the Senate were for punishing those who had so manifestly violated the Law of Nations; or at least, for trying to appease the *Gauls* with Money. But the youngest of that Body, driven on by their Courage, rejected this Advice,

vice, as unworthy of the *Roman* Name. The Affair was referred to the Aſſembly of the People; and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the Father of thoſe Ambaſſadors, who, though a *Patrician*, had found Means to render himſelf agreeable to the People, made ſo ſtrong an Intereſt, that they not only ſent back the Herald without Satisfaction, but alſo choſe his Sons Military Tribunes and Leaders of the Army which they reſolved to ſend againſt the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, at the Return of his Herald, removed his Arms and his Reſentment from the *Cluſians* to the *Romans*, and marched directly to *Rome*. His Army was numerous; all fled before him; the Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages left their Habitations at his Approach; but he ſtopp'd no where, and declared, his Deſign was againſt none but the *Romans*.

Brennus *marches towards* Rome. *Year of* Rome, 363.

The Military Tribunes marched out of *Rome*, at the Head of Forty Thouſand Men. Their Troops were not fewer in number than thoſe of *Brennus*; but there was more Order and Obedience in the Army of the *Gauls*. The *Roman* Generals, ſince the Diſgrace and Baniſhment of CAMILLUS, durſt not act with full Authority, but were forced to wink at the want of Diſcipline, and the Licentiouſneſs of their Soldiers, inſtead of commanding them with that abſolute Authority which is requiſite in War. It was alſo obſerved, That theſe Tribunes, before they left *Rome*, did not ſacrifice to the Gods, and neglected to conſult the *Auſpices*; Eſſential Ceremonies among a People full of Superſtition, and that drew their Courage and Confidence from the propitious Signs which the *Augurs* declared to them. But nothing did more Prejudice to the *Romans*, than the Multiplicity of their Commanders. There was in their Army Six Military Tribunes, all with equal Authority, moſt of them young, and Men of more Valour than Capacity. They advanc'd boldly againſt the *Gauls*, whom

Battel of Allia.

they met near the River *Allia*, Half a Day's Journey from *Rome*. Each Nation immediately drew up its Army. The *Romans*, that they might not be surrounded by the Enemy, extended their Wings, and placed their best Soldiers on the Right and Left, which weaken'd the Centre. It was against this Part that the *Gauls* bent their chief Forces. They soon pierced and broke the Cohorts of which it consisted. The Two Wings finding themselves cut off from the Army, and their Centre possess'd by the Enemy, took to Flight, without drawing their Swords. It was not so much a Battel, as a general Rout; and in this Disorder and Affright, the Soldiers, instead of returning to *Rome*, (which was but Threescore *Stadia* off) threw themselves into *Veij:* Others were drowned, as they endeavoured to swim cross the *Tyber:* Many, pursued by the Enemy, fell beneath the Sword of the Conqueror. Some few, who escaped their Rage, got to *Rome*, whither they carried Terror and Consternation. The Senate, thinking the whole Army had been cut to Pieces, and not having Forces sufficient to defend the City, threw into the *Capital* all the Men that were fit to bear Arms. They carried into it all the Provisions they could get together; and that they might last the longer, admitted none into the Place, but what were capable of defending it. Most of the old Men, Women and Children, seeing themselves without Governors, or any Scheme to follow, hid themselves in the Fields, and dispersed among the neighbouring Towns. But the old Senators, rather than bear a Load of Misery and feeble old Age among Strangers, resolved to bury themselves under the Ruins of their Country, and to end their Days in a City which they could no longer defend. Several Priests joined with them, and generously devoted themselves to Death like those illustrious old Men. This Sort of Self-Devotement was a Point of Reli-

Year of Rome, 363. Livy l. 5. Plut. in Camillo.

Consequences of the Battel of Allia.

Religion; and the *Romans* believed, that the voluntary Sacrifice which their Leaders made of their Lives to the Infernal Gods, brought Diſorder and Confuſion among the Enemy. Theſe venerable Men having put on, ſome their ſacred Habits, and ſome their Conſular Robes, and all the Marks of their Dignity, placed themſelves at the Doors of their Houſes, in Chairs of Ivory, where they expected the Enemy and Death with the greateſt Conſtancy.

If after the Defeat at *Allia*, the *Gauls* had march'd ſtrait to *Rome*, the Republick had been loſt, and the *Roman* Name extinguiſh'd. But thoſe *Barbarians* having ſpent almoſt Three Days in ſharing their Booty, the Time they linger'd away in thus enjoying, as it were, the Fruits of their Victory, loſt them all the Advantages of it. The *Romans*, during this Delay, ſent away their Wives and Children: The Senators, and all Men that were capable of bearing Arms, retir'd into the *Capitol*, where they could not eaſily be forced. *Brennus* enter'd *Rome*, and made himſelf Maſter of it about the Year 363, from its Foundation. The Gates were open, the Walls without Defence, and the Houſes without Inhabitants. This Solitude in a very populous City, made him apprehenſive of ſome Ambuſh. But as he underſtood his Trade, and was both a Soldier and a Captain, he immediately ſecured his Conqueſt by ſtrong Bodies of Guards, which he ſet in the publick Places and chief Streets. Plut. in Cam. Rome *taken.*

The firſt Spectacle that offered it ſelf to his Sight, and moſt drew his Attention, were thoſe venerable old Men, who (as we ſaid before) had devoted themſelves to Death, and who expected it at the Doors of their Houſes. Their magnificent Habits, their white Beards, and Air of Greatneſs and Conſtancy, the Silence they kept; all this at firſt ſurprized the *Gauls*, and inſpired them with

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the ſame Reſpect, as they would have had for ſo many Gods. They durſt not come near them; but one Soldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of Curioſity touch'd the Beard of one of the old Senators, that generous old Man, not being us'd to ſuch Familiarity, gave him a Blow on the Head with his Ivory Stick. The Soldier, in Revenge, immediately killed him; and at the ſame Time, the other old Men and the Prieſts were ſlaughter'd like him in their Chairs. All thoſe Inhabitants that had not been able to eſcape, were put to the Sword, without Diſtinction of Age or Sex. *Brennus* then inveſted the *Capitol*, and ſummon'd thoſe that had ſhut themſelves up in it to ſurrender: But finding them immoveable, he endeavour'd to ſcale the Place. The *Romans*, who fought with great Advantage, drove back his Troops, and ſlew a great Number of them. *Brennus* found he ſhould never be able to take a Place which Nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by Famine: But in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their Reſiſtance, he reſolved to deſtroy *Rome* entirely. His Soldiers, by his Command, ſet Fire to the Houſes, demoliſhed the Temples, and public Edifices, and razed the Walls. Thus, inſtead of a City already famous throughout all *Italy*, nothing was to be ſeen, but a few little Hills cover'd with Ruins, and a wide Waſte, in which *Brennus* encamped that Part of his Army which inveſted the *Capitol*: The other Part was ſent out to Forage.

Senators murder'd.

Theſe Troops, who imagined they kept the whole Country in Subjection by the mere Terror of their Arms, preſerved neither Order nor Diſcipline in their Marches. The Soldiers rambled different Ways to plunder; and thoſe that kept in a Body, ſpent whole Days in Drinking: Neither Officer nor Soldier dreamt of any other Enemies, but thoſe who were block'd up in the *Capitol*.

CAMILLUS,

CAMILLUS, upon his Exile, was retired to *Ardea*, as we ſaid before. This great Man, more afflicted at the Calamities of his Country, than at his own Baniſhment, undertook to revenge her upon thoſe *Barbarians*. He eaſily perſuaded the Youth of the City to follow him; and, with the Allowance of the Magiſtrates, he marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark Night, and ſurprized the *Gauls* drowned in Wine. He made a dreadful Slaughter of them; and thoſe that eſcaped under Shelter of the Night, fell next Day into the Hands of the Peaſants, who gave them but ſmall Quarter.

Camillus *comes and relieves* Rome. *Year of* Rome 363.

The News of this Defeat was quickly ſpread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* that had taken Refuge in *Veij*, and all that were diſperſed about in the adjacent Villages, aſſembled together. There was not one but condemn'd himſelf for the Exile of CAMILLUS, as if he had been the Author of it; and looking upon that great Man as their laſt Reſource after the Deſtruction of *Rome*, they reſolved to chuſe him for their Leader. "Why, ſaid they, "muſt the *Ardeates*, who are Strangers, cover themſelves with Glory under the Conduct of CAMILLUS, while his own Fellow-Citizens wander about like wretched Out-Laws in the Heart of "their own Country?" All are for ſubmitting to him; all are for fighting under his Banners. They preſently ſend him Deputies, who beſeech him to take into his Protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the Wrecks of the Defeat at *Allia*.

CAMILLUS at firſt excuſed himſelf from accepting any Command, upon account of his being an Exile. "*Rome* is no more, anſwer'd the Deputies; "and we can now no longer reckon our ſelves Citizens of a City that is abſolutely deſtroyed. "You ſee before you the mournful Remains of a "State, that hath flouriſhed for above Three Ages! "One ſingle Battel hath determin'd Her Fate, and

"Ours; and there is no *Asylum* left us, but in Your "Camp."

CAMILLUS, still obedient to the Laws, would not yet assent; but made them agree to send first to *Rome*, to know whether the *Capitol* still held out; and in that Case, to take the Orders of the Senate which was there inclosed. The Commission was difficult: The Place was surrounded on every Side by the Enemies Troops. Nevertheless a young *Roman*, call'd *Pontius Cominius*, undertook it, and through a Thousand Dangers arrived at the *Capitol*. The Senate was immediately assembled: This Deputy gave them an Account of CAMILLUS's Victory, and, on the Part of all the *Romans* that were dispersed, demanded that great Captain for their General. There was not much Time spent in Debates upon it: The Senate and Soldiers, who represented the People, with one Voice, declared him *Dictator*. *Pontius* was immediately sent away again with the Decree of his Nomination; and that young Man got back to the Camp with the same good Fortune, with which he had ascended to the *Capitol*.

Year of Rome 363.

CAMILLUS, from Banishment, was raised to the highest Dignity of his Country. He was acknowledged *Dictator*, and Sovereign Magistrate of the *Romans*. In any other Captain, this had been but a vain Title: They gave him with this Honour, neither Troops, nor Money to raise any. He made good all these Defects by his Courage, and that great Reputation which he had so justly gained. His new Dignity was no sooner known, but Soldiers flock'd from all Parts to his Camp; and he quickly saw himself at the Head of above forty thousand *Romans*, or Allies, who all thought themselves invincible under so great a General.

Some Gaulish *Soldiers driven down from the* Capitol.

While he was arming, and taking Measures to raise the Blockade of the *Capitol*, some *Gaulish* Soldiers having found in the Mountain whereon that Fort

Fort is ſituated, the Footſteps of *Pontius*'s Paſſage, made their Report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately laid a Deſign to ſurprize that Place the ſame way. He choſe out of his Army ſuch Soldiers as had dwelt in Mountainous Countries, and been accuſtomed from their Youth to clamber Precipices. Theſe having received their Orders, ſet out in the Night, under Cover of the Dark, climbed up from Rock to Rock, and with much Difficulty, and more Danger, advanced by Degrees, lending each other a Hand, till they arrived at the Foot of the Wall, which on that Side was built very low, becauſe ſo craggy a Place ſeem'd ſafe from all Attacks.

The Centinel was aſleep, and the *Gauls* began to ſcale the Rampart, when ſome Geeſe, conſecrated to *Juno*, and which, out of a Principle of Religion, were kept as Sacred Birds, awaked at the Noiſe the *Gauls* made, and fell to Cackling. *M. Manlius*, a Conſular Perſon, ſtarts up at the Noiſe, runs to the Place, and appears firſt to defend the Wall. Alone he faces the Enemy; firſt cuts off the Hand of a *Gaul* that had raiſed it to ſtrike him a Blow with his Battle-Axe, and gives another ſuch a Shove with his Buckler, that he rowls him from the Top of the Rock to the Bottom. The whole Gariſon immediately haſtes to the ſame Place. They puſh, they preſs upon the *Gauls*. *Manlius*, at the Head of the *Romans*, tumbles them one over another; it was no Place to fly in; and moſt of them, to avoid the Sword of the Enemy, throw themſelves down the Precipices, ſo that very few regained their Camp.

The firſt thing the Beſieged did, after having eſcaped ſo great a Danger, was to precipitate from the Top of the Rock, the Centinel that had been found aſleep; the next Buſineſs was to reward *M. Manlius*, who by his Courage and Vigilance had ſaved the Republick. Each Soldier gave him half

half a Pound of Meal, and a little Measure of Wine, which they spared out of their own Allowance: A Reward remarkable only upon Account of the Scarcity of Provisions that began to be in the Place. *Brennus*, despairing to become Master of the Fort any other ways than by Famine, kept it so strictly invested, that for Seven Months that the Siege had lasted, they had not been able to get in the least Supply.

The same Scarcity was felt in the Camp of the *Gauls*. Since the Dictatorship had been given to CAMILLUS, that skilful General being perfect Master of the Country, possess'd himself of all the Passages. The *Gauls* durst not stir out to Forage, for fear of being cut to pieces; so that *Brennus*, who besieged the Capitol, was besieged himself, and suffer'd the same inconveniences that he made the Besieg'd suffer.

The Romans *capitulate.*

In this common Misery, the Centinels of the Capitol, and those of the Enemy's Army, began to talk to one another of an Accommodation. These Discourses came by degrees to the Leaders; who were not averse to it. The Senate, who had heard nothing of CAMILLUS, since they had nam'd him Dictator, and who found themselves hard pinch'd by Hunger, resolv'd to enter upon a Negotiation. *Sulpitius*, a Military Tribune, had the Charge of it, and agreed with *Brennus* to give him a thousand Pound Weight of Gold, provided he would raise the Siege, and depart immediately out of the Dominions of the Republic. The Gold was brought, but when it came to be weigh'd, the *Gauls* made use of False Weights. The *Romans* cry'd out against this unfair Dealing; but *Brennus*, instead of redressing so plain an Abuse, openly threw into the Scale where the Weights were, his Sword and Belt likewise, and so overcharg'd it. *Sulpitius* enraged at so contemptuous an Insult, ask'd him the meaning of this extraordinary Beha-

Behaviour: "What ſhould it be, reply'd the *Bar-*
"*barian* inſolently, but Woe to the conquered?

During this Conteſt, CAMILLUS was advanced to the very Gates of *Rome* with his Army. Being inform'd they were enter'd upon a Conference, he took with him his principal Officers, and with a ſtrong Guard reſolved to repair to the Place of Conference, to take care of his Country's Intereſt himſelf; or rather, which is more probable, to ſhow the Deputies of the Beſieged, that he was in a Condition to bring them off, and to drive away their Beſiegers. *The Gauls overcome by Camillus.*

His Army, by his Command, followed him a ſlow Pace, and the *Gauls*, who relied upon the Faith of a Treaty of Peace, ſuffer'd the firſt Body of that Army to approach without Oppoſition.

As ſoon as ever CAMILLUS appear'd in the Aſſembly, the Deputies of the Senate opened to make room for him, as for the chief Magiſtrate of the Republic. After having given him an Account of the Treaty they had made with *Brennus*, they complain'd of the Wrong that Prince did them in the Execution of it: "Carry back this Gold into "the Capitol, ſays he to the Deputies; and you "*Gauls*, added he, retire with your Scales and "Weights. It is with Steel alone that the *Romans* "will recover their Country." *Brennus* ſurprized at this Greatneſs of Soul, which he had not found before in any *Roman*, repreſented to him that he contravened a Treaty which was concluded. But CAMILLUS replied, "That being Dictator, no bo-"dy had Authority to determine any Thing with-"out his Privity." The Diſpute growing hot, they ſoon came to Arms. CAMILLUS, who had foreſeen it, cauſed his Troops to advance; the Armies charg'd each other with Fury. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages of the Place where

where they fought, drove the *Gauls* before them. *Brennus* rallies them, raiſes the Siege, and encamps ſome Miles from *Rome*. CAMILLUS follows him with the ſame ſpeed, attacks him again, and defeats him: Moſt of the *Gauls* were ſlain upon the Spot, or in the Purſuit, by the Inhabitants of the adjoining Villages.

Thus *Rome*, which had been taken contrary to all Likelihood, was recover'd by the Valour of a baniſh'd Man, who ſacrific'd his Reſentment to the Preſervation of his Country. And as he ſaved it in War, and by the Valour of his Arms, he may be ſaid to have preſerved it a ſecond Time in Peace, after he had driven away its Enemies.

The City was deſtroy'd, the Houſes demoliſh'd, and the Walls raz'd, as we ſaid before; and a Man might have ſought for *Rome* in the middle of *Rome* it ſelf. In a Deſolation ſo general, the Tribunes of the People renew'd the old Propoſal of ſettling at *Veij*, and demanded that the Senate and People ſhould remove thither, and make that the Seat of the Empire.

Camillus *hinders the* Romans *from forſaking the City.*

They repreſented in all the Aſſemblies the extreme Miſery of the People, eſcaped as it were quite naked from Shipwreck, exhauſted by ſo many Misfortunes, without Strength, without Money, and unable to rebuild a whole City, which had nothing left of it, but the Ruins; while *Veij* offer'd the *Romans* a Place fortify'd by Art and Nature, Stately Buildings, a wholeſome Air, and a fruitful Territory.

The Senate, who had made it a Point of their Religion never to leave *Rome*, made no Oppoſition to Motives that ſeem'd ſo reaſonable, but by Prayers, and ſoothing Intreaties. The moſt illuſtrious of that Body ſhow'd the People the Tombs of their Anceſtors; others put them in mind of the Temples that *Romulus* and *Numa* had conſecrated;

and

and forgot not the Man's Head [*Caput* in *Latin*] that had formerly been dug up in making the Foundation of the *Capitol*, and which, according to the Interpretation of the Augurs, signified, that the Empire of the World was decreed for that Place, and that It should become as it were the *Capital* of all Nations.

CAMILLUS, who alone in this Revolution had more Authority and Credit than the whole Senate, asked some, Why they had shut themselves up in the *Capitol*, and others, Why they had fought in the open Field with so much Bravery to recover *Rome*, if they were resolv'd to abandon it? "Consider, "said he, that by retiring to *Veij*, you will assume "the Name of a conquer'd People, and lose that "of *Romans*, together with the glorious Destiny "which the Gods have affix'd to it, and which "with your Name, will go to the first *Barbarians* "that shall get Possession of the *Capitol*, and "who by this Change, may perhaps in Time be-"come your Masters, and your Tyrants." These Motives, borrow'd from Religion and Glory, touch'd a People, superstitious and haughty, who preferred the future Hopes of Empire to the present Conveniencies of Life; and a Word spoke by Chance, determin'd them compleatly. The Senate was assembled extraordinarily, to deliberate upon an Affair of such Importance. *L. Lucretius* was to give his Opinion first. Just as that Senator was opening his Mouth to speak his Mind, the Captain that mounted the Guard was heard to call to the Standard-Bearer to stop there, and plant his Ensign: *For*, added the Officer, *here we must stay.* *Year of* Rome 364.

This Voice, heard at the very Time when every Body was at a loss what Resolution to take, seemed to come from Heaven: *I accept the Omen*, cried *Lucretius*, *and adore the Gods, that give us such fortunate Advice.* The whole Senate applauded his Words. This News being spread among Plut. in vitâ Camil.

the People, changed the Disposition of every Mind; and a chance Word, by being turn'd into an Omen, had more Power than the wisest Reasons the Senate could urge. *Veij* was no longer mention'd; every Man strove who should build fastest, even without distinguishing his own Ground from that of his Neighbour. The Republic gave a House, situate in the *Capitol*, to *M. Manlius*, as a Monument of his Valour, and of the Gratitude of his Fellow-Citizens. But at the same Time that she rewarded so great a Piece of Service, she thought her self oblig'd to punish *Q. Fabius Ambustus*, who had violated the Law of Nations, and thereby occasion'd the Resentment and Fury of the *Gauls*.

Manlius's *Reward.*

Fabius *accused.* *Year of* Rome 364.

C. Martius Rutilus, Tribune of the People, summon'd him before the Assembly of the People, to answer for his Conduct in his Embassy. The Senate, who could not forgive him the Extremity to which he had reduced the Commonwealth, never concern'd themselves in his Defence; all his Father's Power with the People could not save him. His Relations gave out, that a sudden Death had prevented the Decision of this Affair. This was what never fail'd to happen to those who had Courage enough to free themselves from Condemnation and the Shame of public Punishment.

Livy l. 6. Mean while, those of the Citizens that were still dispersed in the Provinces, those that while the *Gauls* were Masters of *Rome*, had settled at *Veij*, or in the Neighbouring Towns, the Priests, the Women, the Children, all returned to *Rome*. Every one is looking out for a Place of Abode; they build on all Sides; they were allowed to take Stone where-ever they could find it. The State furnish'd Tiles; and the Work was carry'd on with so much Diligence, that in less than a Year the City was quite rebuilt.

Rome *rebuilt.*

Rome ſeem'd to riſe up out of her Aſhes; but ſcarce did her Inhabitants begin to take Breath, when new Wars call'd them again into the Field. The *Tuſcans*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci*, all near Neighbours of *Rome*, and of Courſe her Enemies, made a League to oppreſs her before ſhe had recover'd her Strength. The *Latins*, and *Hernici*, Allies indeed of the *Roman* People, but always jealous of her Greatneſs, engaged in this Deſign, and furniſhed their Contingent of Troops. All flatter'd themſelves, that after ſo many Loſſes, they ſhould find the City wholly Defenceleſs. They threw themſelves by Conſent, and on different Sides, into its Territory; and after having ravaged the Country, they joined their Troops, and marched ſtrait to *Rome*. The Military Tribunes were ſent out at the Head of the Legions, to hinder the Enemy from penetrating farther. *Year of* Rome 365. Rome *wars with her Neighbours.*

But thoſe Generals, without ſtriking a Blow, ſuffer'd themſelves to be encloſed in Straits and narrow Paſſages. All they could do, was to gain the Top of the Mountain of *Mars*, where they intrench'd themſelves. Their Camp was indeed ſecure from all Attacks on the Part of the Enemy, but then it was at the ſame Time inacceſſible to Convoys; and the Army was in Danger of periſhing by Hunger.

In this Extremity they had recourſe to a General, always ſuperior to Dangers and Difficulties. CAMILLUS was a Third Time named Dictator. Immediately he calls all the Citizens to take Arms, without excepting even the old Men. His very Name, and the Report of his March, fill'd the Enemy with Terror; they now think no more of Conqueſt; their whole Study is how to avoid being conquer'd themſelves; they intrench themſelves in their Camp, which they fortify with a ſtrong Paliſade of Stakes, and by felling great Rows of Trees, which they lay before it. CAMIL- Pluf. in Camillo. Camillus *again Dictator.*

LUS approaches their Camp; and having taken notice of the Disposition of it, he observed that every Morning there arose a great Wind, which blowed from the Mountains. Upon this Observation he secretly laid the Scheme of his Enterprize; one part of his Troops made a false Attack on one Side of the Camp, while on the other, some Soldiers, instructed in their General's Design, threw against that Inclosure of Wood, burning Arrows, and other combustible Materials, which, with the help of the Wind that rose as usual, quickly burnt down the Palisade. The Fire catches hold of the Tents. The Soldiers, frightned, run precipitately out of the Camp, without staying for the Commands of their Officers. All rush out in Crouds, and in Confusion, and fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, who make a terrible Slaughter of them. CAMILLUS then sent to extinguish the Flames, in order to save the Booty, with which he rewarded his Army.

Year of Rome 366.

The same good Fortune attended him against the *Æqui* and the *Tuscans*. He made War upon them almost Four Years, sometimes in Quality of Dictator, and sometimes of Military Tribune, and in all these Wars he had the same Success, and constantly came off victorious.

But without dwelling upon this Run of glorious Actions which are not to my Purpose; I shall only observe, that it was no less to his Wisdom than his Valour, that he owed the Title with which his Fellow-Citizens honoured him, of Restorer of his Country, and second Founder of *Rome*.

Liv. l. 6. Plut. in Cam..

Year of Rome 367.

Among all the *Romans*, there was none but *Marcus Manlius*, a Consular Person, that dissented from this general Esteem. He was indeed one of the bravest Soldiers that *Rome* ever produced, but his Ambition and Vanity were yet greater than his Valour. He could not bear to see CAMILLUS preferred before him in the Command of the Armies.

Manlius *jealous of* Camillus's *Glory. His Ambition.*

If

If I had not ſaved the Fort and Capitol, ſaid he, *was it poſſible for* Camillus *to have recovered* Rome? *And does not every Body know that when he drove out the* Gauls, *he ſurprized them in a Conference, and at the very Time when they relied upon the Faith of a ſolemn Treaty?*

By ſuch Speeches he gave Vent to his Envy, and tried to blacken the Glory of a Man, whom he looked upon as his Rival. The Ambition, which prey'd upon him, being joined to an exceſſive Vanity, he took the ſame way that thoſe who affect the Tyranny are uſed to follow. He ſet himſelf to flatter the People as much as any Tribune could have done; and not ſatisfied with renewing the dangerous Propoſals for the Diviſion of the Lands, the Ground or Pretence of all Seditions, he endeavoured to raiſe new ones, under colour of an Intention to eaſe the People, and give them means of diſcharging the Debts which moſt of the *Plebeians* had contracted to rebuild their Houſes. He paid for ſome, and made himſelf anſwerable for others. He ſold his Land to acquit their Debts; and declared, that ſo long as he had a Penny left, he would never ſuffer his Fellow-Citizens to be laid in Irons. Sometimes he tore them out of the Hands of their Creditors, and hindered them by Force from carrying them to Priſon. By this violent and ſeditious Behaviour, he had ſoon got about him a kind of Guard, made up of the People he had ſo aſſiſted, moſt of whom had conſumed their Subſtance in Debauchery: Theſe never left him, and raiſed a continual Tumult in the *Forum.*

He repreſented to them ſometimes in publick, and ſometimes in private, that the Nobles, not ſatisfied with being the ſole Poſſeſſors of the Lands that ought to be equally ſhared among all the Citizens, had alſo taken to their own Uſe, the Gold allotted for the Payment of the *Gauls*, which was

raiſed by the voluntary Contribution of all that had been ſhut up in the *Capitol*. He added, that the ſame *Patricians* had farther enriched themſelves with the Booty found in the Camp of *Brennus*, which alone had been ſufficient to pay all the Peoples Debts.

Sedition of the Manlian *Party.*

This Diſcourſe, repeated upon different Occaſions, and artfully ſowed about by his Engines, raiſed the Multitude. All other Pretenſions ceaſed; ſo great a Proſpect as every Man's having his Debts diſcharged, left them no room to think of any Thing, but to draw theſe Riches out of the Hands of the *Patricians*; the Sedition increaſed from Day to Day, and its Author made it the more formidable. The Senate in this Diſorder, reſolved to apply to the uſual Remedy, and create a Dictator. They made uſe of the Pretence of a new War with the *Volſci*. But no Body was ignorant, that that Magiſtrate would have more dangerous Enemies to deal with in the City than abroad. This Dignity fell to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who named *Quintius Capitolinus* to be General of the Horſe.

Year of Rome 369. Liv. l. 6.

The *Volſci* were defeated; but the Sedition grew greater every Day. The Dictator was obliged to return to *Rome*. After having agreed with the Senate upon the Courſe he ſhould ſteer, he came to the *Forum*, accompanied by the Senate, and a great Number of *Patricians*; he mounted his Tribunal, from whence he ſent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him.

Manlius *ſummoned and interrogated.*

Manlius finding himſelf ſummoned before the chief Magiſtrate of the Republic, made all his Adherents follow him to the *Forum*, and approached the Dictator's Tribunal with ſo numerous a Guard, that he was able to ſtrike more Terror into his Judges, than he was likely to feel from their Authority. The Senate and People were ſeparated

rated as it were into two different Parties, ready to come to Blows, with each their Leader at their Head.

Then the Dictator having cauſed Silence to be proclaimed, directed himſelf to *Manlius:* "I "know, ſays he, that you accuſe the chief of the "Senate, of having miſapplied the Gold deſign'd "for the *Gauls*, and the Booty taken in their "Camp, and that you at the ſame Time give "the People hopes that this one Fund would "be ſufficient to acquit all their Debts. I com-"mand you to name this Minute, the Men you "charge with having miſapplied this Part of the "publick Treaſure; otherwiſe, to prevent your "ſeducing the People any longer by Lies and vain "Hopes, I ordain, That you be immediately car-"ried to Priſon, as an Incendiary and a Slanderer. Liv. l. 6. Plut. in Camillo. Diod. Sic.

Manlius, ſurprized at the ſtern and imperious Manner in which the Dictator examin'd him, without entring into any Proofs of a Fact of ſuch Importance, replied, That he ask'd him a Queſtion, which he could reſolve as well as himſelf; and added, "But is not that which angers you, *A. Cor-*"*neiius*, and all the Senators and *Patricians* in this "Aſſembly, the Crowd of People wherewith I "am ſurrounded? Why do you not rob me of "this Affection, which makes you ſo jealous? Or "at leaſt, why do you not endeavour to ſhare it "with me? Relieve the poor Citizens that groan "beneath the Weight of the Uſury that ſinks "them: Hinder them from being caſt into "Chains: Take upon you the Protection of thoſe "generous *Plebeians*, that, by my Example, pre-"ſerved the *Capitol:* Defend thoſe, that with the "Price of their Blood recover'd the very Spot "where now ſtands your Tribunal, and the Seat "of your Empire: Pay for ſome: Anſwer for "others; and you will ſee the Multitude follow Manlius's *Anſwer.*

" you, and give you all the Proofs they are able " of their Gratitude and Love.

The *Dictator* replied, That this ſhould not miſlead him from his Queſtion: That he commanded him to ſpeak without ſo many Subterfuges, and name directly thoſe whom he accus'd of having embezzel'd the Gold and Spoils of the *Gauls*, or elſe to acknowledge before all the People, that he was no better than a Calumniator. *Manlius*, perplex'd and confounded, told him, He did not intend to give his Enemies ſo much Satisfaction.

Upon this, the Dictator commanded him to be led to Priſon. The Lictors had no ſooner laid hold on him, but *Manlius*, to ſtir up the People, invoked all the Gods that were revered in the *Capitol*, and at *Rome:* And turning to the Multitude, " Can " you bear, O Generous *Romans*, cried he, to ſee " your Defender treated ſo unworthily, by Ene- " mies jealous of his Glory?

Manlius is ſent to Priſon.

Notwithſtanding his Cries, the Dictator's Order was executed: He was carried to Priſon, and no body ſtirr'd to reſcue him. His numerous Abettors contented themſelves with ſhowing their Sorrow by Habits of Mourning, which were never worn but in the greateſt Calamities. Nay, there were ſome that would not cut either their Beard or Hair. The Dictator laid down his Dignity, after having had a Triumph for the Victory he had gained over the *Volſci*. The People expreſs'd nothing but a deep Dejection on that Day of Joy; and they were heard to ſay, That the chief Ornament of this ſtately Triumph was wanting; and that they wonder'd they did not ſee in it *Manlius* laden with Chains, and bound to the Dictator's Chariot. There were even ſome, that to move the Multitude, put them in Mind, that *Manlius* had been ſo brave, as alone to defend the whole People againſt the *Gauls*; but that among ſo great a People, not a ſingle Man undertook to defend

Man-

Manlius againſt the Senate. That it was a Shame to ſee a Conſular treated with ſo much Indignity: And that they ought to break the Chains of the Defender of the publick Liberty. The Senate, fearing leſt the People in their Fury ſhould force open the Priſons, and that *Manlius* being ſet free by ſuch violent Means, might carry his Audaciouſneſs further than ever, thought they ſhould ſtifle this Affair, if they abated a little of their Authority: But inſtead of laying the Sedition, they, by this timorous Behaviour, gave a Chief to the Mutineers, and a Chief too, enraged by the Shame of his Impriſonment, and incapable of hearkening to Counſels of Moderation. *Manlius releaſed.*

And indeed, he was no ſooner out of Priſon, than inſtead of growing the better for his Diſgrace, he again ſtirr'd up the People to revive their antient Pretenſions. He ſpake of nothing in private Aſſemblies, but the Juſtice of dividing the publick Lands, and the Neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an exact Equality among all the Citizens of one and the ſame Republic. "But you will never bring ſo "noble an Enterprize to bear, added he, (ad- "dreſſing himſelf to his moſt devoted Creatures) "ſo long as you oppoſe the Pride and Avarice of "the *Patricians* only with Complaints, Murmurs, "and empty Diſcourſes. It is Time for you to "ſhake off their Tyranny; to aboliſh the Dicta- "torſhips and Conſulates. Make yourſelves a Head "that may govern the *Patricians* as well as the Peo- "ple. If you judge me worthy of that Honour, "the more Power you give me, the ſooner you "will be in Poſſeſſion of the Things you have ſo "long wiſh'd for. I deſire Authority with no View "but to make you all Rich and Happy. *Excites freſh Diſturbances.*

It is ſaid, that by this ſeditious Diſcourſe, he meant to inſtil into his Creatures the Deſign of reſtoring the Royalty in his Perſon. But it is not known what Inſtruments he intended to make uſe of

of in ſo difficult an Undertaking, nor how far he carried his ambitious Project. What is moſt certain, is, that he held private Aſſemblies in his Houſe on the *Capitol*, to which he called neither *A. Manlius*, nor *T. Manlius*, his Brothers, nor any of his Relations; but that on the contrary, no body was ſeen at them, but People ruined with Debts, or ſcandalous for their Debauchery.

The Senate, alarm'd at theſe Cabals, made a Decree, and a *Senatusconſultum*, whereby the Military Tribunes, who repreſented the Conſuls, were order'd *to be particularly watchful, that the Republic received no Damage*; a Form which was never uſed but in the greateſt Dangers of the State, and which inveſted thoſe Magiſtrates with an Authority little different from that of the *Dictator*. After this, different Means were propoſed for breaking the evil Deſigns of *Manlius*. Some Senators cried out, That the Republic, upon this Occaſion, ſtood in need of another *Servilius Ahala*, who by one bold Stroke, and the Death of a bad Citizen, reſtored Peace and Tranquillity.

Accuſed by the Tribunes.

But *M. Menius*, and *Q. Petillius*, though both Tribunes of the People, offered themſelves to the Senate, and opened to them a Scheme more ſecure and agreeable to the Moderation of that Body. Thoſe two Magiſtrates, foreſeeing that the loſs of their Dignities would ſoon follow that of the public Liberty, repreſented That in the preſent Diſpoſition of Mens Minds, they could not attack *Manlius* with open Force, without engaging the People in his Defence: That Ways of Violence were always dangerous, and might raiſe a Civil War: That their firſt Buſineſs was to ſeparate the Intereſts of the People from thoſe of *Manlius*: That they themſelves would undertake to be his Accuſers, as of a Man that affected the Tyranny: That the People, from being the Protectors of *Manlius*, would become his Judge, and an inexorable Judge, when

when they found an Attempt and Conſpiracy was formed againſt their Liberty: That the Perſon accuſed was a *Patrician*, and Tribunes would be his Accuſers. The Senate embraced this Advice; *Manlius* was cited; and as the Crime alledged againſt him was capital, he appeared before his Judges cloathed in Mourning. But he came alone; none of his Relations would accompany him, nor concern themſelves for his Diſgrace: So much did the Love of Liberty, and Fear of being enſlaved, prevail in the Hearts of the *Romans*, over all the Ties of Blood and Nature.

His Accuſers charged him with his ſeditious Diſcourſes; the Alterations he propoſed to make in the Government; his ill-meant Liberalities to ſtir up the Multitude, and the falſe Accuſation with which he had injured the whole Body of the Senate. *Manlius*, without entering into a Diſcuſſion of theſe ſeveral Articles, gave for Anſwer a Relation of his Services, and the Teſtimonies he had received of them from his Generals. He produced Bracelets, Javelins, two Crowns of Gold, for having enter'd the firſt into the Cities of the Enemy by Breach; eight Civic Crowns, for having ſaved the Lives of ſo many Citizens in Battel; and thirty Spoils of Enemies, whom he had ſlain with his own Hand in ſingle Combat. He, at the ſame Time, open'd his Boſom, and ſhew'd it all cover'd with Scars, left by the Wounds he had received in Fight. Laſtly, he called upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, for Succour; and turning to the Aſſembly, he conjured the People to caſt their Eyes upon the *Capitol*, before they condemned him. *Defends himſelf.*

The People, touch'd with Compaſſion by ſo moving a Spectacle, could not reſolve to inflict the utmoſt Rigor of the Laws upon a Man that had ſaved the Republic. The Sight of the *Capitol* where

where he had fought ſo valiantly againſt the *Gauls*, weaken'd the Accuſation, and drew the Pity of the Multitude. The Tribunes found, that unleſs they removed the People out of the Sight of that Caſtle, the Criminal would always have There an Aſylum againſt the ſtrongeſt Proofs of his Guilt. Thus, for fear he ſhould eſcape them, they referr'd the Deciſion of this Affair to another Day, and appointed the Place of the Aſſembly to be without the Gate *Flumentana*. Then the Object that had ſaved him, no longer dazzling the Eyes of his Judges, *Manlius* was condemn'd to be thrown from the Top of the *Capitol* itſelf; and the Theatre of his Glory became that of his Puniſhment and Shame. None of his Family ever afterwards bore the Name of *Marcus*; his Houſe where he had held his private Cabals, was razed to the Ground; and it was decreed, that no *Patrician* ſhould afterwards dwell in the *Capitol*, leſt the advantageous Situation of a Fortreſs that commanded the whole City, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the Deſign of enſlaving it.

Condemn'd. Year of Rome 370.

The People, who pity indifferently all the Unfortunate, without diſtinguiſhing the Guilty from the Innocent, were not long before they regretted *Manlius*. They had ſoon forgot his Ambition; they remembred only his Courage and Valour; and eſpecially the Adherence he had ſhown to Their Intereſts. Thoſe that had received Benefits from him, upbraided the Multitude that their Favourites never laſted long; and that they had always baſely yielded them up to the Cruelty of the Senate: That that chief Order could not endure Virtues too conſpicuous: That *Sp. Caſſius*, another Conſular, who had called them to the Partition of Lands; that *Melius*, who in a Famine had aſſiſted them ſo generouſly, had periſhed miſerably by the Jealouſy of the Great; and that by the ſame Artifices they had juſt now deſtroy'd *Manlius*, who

Manlius *regretted.*

who died only becauſe that noble Citizen would have freed Them from the intolerable Uſury with which they were oppreſſed. The Plague that happened a little while afterwards, did not fail to be aſcribed by the meaner Sort to their Puniſhment of that Conſular. They ſaid that *Jupiter*, the Revenger of ſuch illuſtrious Blood, was incenſed at their having ſo unjuſtly put to Death the Defender of his Temple. *Year of* Rome 371.

New Wars that were ſucceſſively kindled againſt the *Volſci*, the *Circæi*, and the *Preneſtini*, which laſted almoſt ſix Years, ſtifled thoſe popular Notions. Peace bred new Diſſentions; as if it had been the Fate of *Rome* never to preſerve Tranquility at home and abroad at the ſame Time.

The Plebeians aſpire to the Conſulate.

A great Number of *Plebeians* had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe Wars, and acquired Wealth in them beſides, which gave them further Weight. Theſe *Plebeians*, whoſe Minds were exalted, thought it not above them to aſpire to the Conſulate, and the Command of Armies. To attain theſe Honours, they inſinuated in all the Aſſemblies, that they ſhould never ſee Concord perfectly reſtored in the Commonwealth, ſo long as the Dignities were reſerved to the *Patricians* only: That Equality was the moſt ſolid Foundation of Union; and that *Plebeians* ought to be admitted into the Conſulate indifferently with *Patricians:* That the Hope of arriving at all the Honours of the Republic, would raiſe a noble Emulation between the two Orders of the State; and that no *Plebeian* would then value his Life, when Dignities, Honours, Nobility, and Glory were common among all the Citizens.

The poorer Sort, wholly concerned for the Neceſſaries of Life, ſeemed very little moved with theſe magnificent Pretenſions. The *Patricians*, on the other Hand, long oppoſed them with great Courage and Firmneſs. This was for ſeveral Years a con-

a continual Subject of Diſpute between the Senate and the Tribunes of the People. At length the Tears of a Woman produced what the Eloquence, Intereſt and Cabals of the Tribunes had not been able to obtain. So true it is, that this artful Sex is never ſtronger than when it makes uſe of its own Weakneſs to effect its Deſigns. This will appear in the Story we are now to relate.

Liv. l. 6.

M. *Fabius Ambuſtus*, beſides his Three Sons, whom we ſpoke of upon occaſion of the War of the *Gauls*, had two Daughters; of which the eldeſt was married to *Ser. Sulpitius*, a *Patrician* by Birth, and then Military Tribune; and the younger had eſpouſed a rich *Plebeian*, named C. Licinius Stolo. One Day, when that *Plebeian*'s Wife was at her Siſter's Houſe, the Lictor that went before *Sulpitius* at his Return from the Senate, knocked roughly at the Door with the Staff of the *Faſces*, to give notice that the Magiſtrate was coming in. This extraordinary Noiſe frighten'd the Wife of Licinius. Her Siſter took no other Notice of her Concern but by a malicious Smile that ſeemed to hint at the Inequality of their Conditions. Her Vanity, ſtung to the Quick by ſo mortifying a Diſtinction, threw her into a deep Melancholy. Her Father and Husband often asked her the occaſion of it; but without getting any ſatisfactory Anſwer. She affected to bury the Cauſe of it in an obſtinate Silence. Thoſe two *Romans*, who were extreamly fond of her, redoubled their Intreaties, and omitted no Means to draw the Secret from her. At length, after as much Reſiſtance as ſhe thought neceſſary to increaſe their Curioſity, ſhe pretended to yield to their Deſires; and confeſſed with Tears in her Eyes, and with a ſort of Confuſion, that ſhe ſhould certainly die of Grief, if being of the ſame Blood as her Siſter, her Huſband could not attain the ſame Dignities as her Brother-in-law.

Year of Rome 377.

Story of Licinius Stolo *and his Wife.*

Fabius

Fabius and LICINIUS, to comfort her, gave her a ſolemn Promiſe, that they would ſpare no Pains to procure for their Family the ſame Honours as ſhe had ſeen in that of her Siſter; and without loſing Time in making Intereſt for the Military Tribunate, they boldly aim'd at once at the very Conſulſhip. Her Father, though a *Patrician*, joined with his Son-in-law; and either out of Complaiſance to his Daughter, or Reſentment of the Death of his Son, whom the Senate had deſerted, enter'd into Meaſures oppoſite to thoſe of his own Order. LICINIUS and he aſſociated into their Deſign *L. Sextius*, of a *Plebeian* Family, equally eſteem'd for his Valour and his Eloquence, an intrepid Defender of the Privileges of the People; and who, as the very *Patricians* confeſs'd, wanted nothing but a more illuſtrious Birth to capacitate him for the higheſt Offices of the Republic.

C. LICINIUS and L. SEXTIUS, agreed to get the *Plebeian* Tribunate firſt, as a kind of Step to the Supreme Magiſtracy: This they eaſily obtained. Scarce had they compaſſed this firſt Point, but they reſolved to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to make the Conſulſhip common to both Orders of the Republic. To effect this Deſign, and to prevent the Senate from getting both the Places of the Conſulate by their Credit fill'd by *Patricians*, they formed the Draught of a Law, which decreed that one of thoſe two Places ſhould always be filled with a *Plebeian*.

Stratagem of the Tribunes of the People to make the Conſulate common to themſelves, equally with the Nobles.

The Buſineſs was to bring the whole Body of the People into this Project; which was no eaſy Matter, the Multitude being much fonder of the Diviſion of the Lands, or the Abolition of the Debts, than of the Conſular Dignity, which could never affect any but the moſt powerful of their Order. Thus the two Tribunes agreed to tack theſe Propoſals together, and to carry the Law relating to the Conſulate, by Means of that

of

of the Partition of the Lands: They added a third, full as advantageous to the Multitude, for the reſtraining of Uſury. It was propoſed to deduct from the capital Debt, whatever had been paid for exceſſive Intereſt, and the Principal was to be diſcharged in three Years, and by three equal Payments.

The ſecond Law related to the Partition of the conquer'd Lands, the perpetual Subject of Conteſt between the Senate and People. But as the Tribunes foreſaw that the whole Body of *Patricians*, and indeed thoſe rich *Plebeians* too, that had long been in Poſſeſſion of ſuch Lands, would jointly ſtand up againſt their Propoſal; and that their Oppoſition might hinder the paſſing of the Law concerning the Conſulate, they reſolved to content themſelves with demanding, that at leaſt it ſhould be unlawful for the future, to poſſeſs above Five hundred Acres of them; and that thoſe who were found to have more than that, ſhould be deprived of them; to be diſtributed among thoſe who enjoy'd no Inheritance in Land.

Laſtly, By the third Law, (the only Object thoſe Tribunes had in View,) it was decreed, that Military Tribunes ſhould not be choſen any more; that the Conſulate ſhould be reſtor'd, with all its Prerogatives; and that one of the Conſuls ſhould always be taken out of the Body of the *Plebeians*.

The two Tribunes propoſed theſe Laws in the firſt Aſſembly. Never did Diviſion, Cabals, and Intrigues run higher. It was attacking both the Senate and Nobility in all that raiſes the moſt violent Deſires in Man: Riches and Honour. The whole Body of *Patricians* declared loudly againſt theſe Propoſals: The People, on their Side, backed their Tribunes with equal Warmth; nay, there were Deſerters in both Parties. The Rich *Plebeian*, whoſe Acquiſitions had made the Intereſt of his Order contrary to his own, fear'd he ſhould

be

be ſtripp'd of Part of his Wealth; and the Noble and *Patrician* that were poſſeſſed of no more Land than what was allowed by the Law, ſtood up for it, in order to make themſelves agreeable to the People, and by that means to attain the chief Dignities of the Republic. The City was full of Tumult; Diſcord reign'd in all Parts of it; even Families were divided among themſelves: Every one choſe his Party, according to his private Views and Intereſts; and *Rome* was in that Agitation which is the uſual Forerunner of Seditions and Civil Wars.

The Aſſembly broke up without coming to any Reſolution. The two Tribunes, who were the Heads of their Party, ſpent the Interval betwixt That and the next Aſſembly in Caballing and ſecuring the Votes of the Multitude. The Senate, on their Parts, held ſeveral Councils both in public and private. At length they had Recourſe to an Expedient, which had already been of very great Service to them: They gain'd over ſome of the Tribunes of the People. Theſe, being diſpleaſed that Licinius and Sextius ſhould aſſume the whole Authority of their College to themſelves, gave the Senate private Aſſurances of their Oppoſition. Licinius and Sextius, who knew nothing of this ſecret Combination, aſſembled the People, in full Confidence that nothing could prevent the Reception of their Laws: They order'd them to be read, and at the ſame time invited all the Tribes to give their Voices. But the Tribunes, who were won over by the Senate, immediately roſe, and declar'd, That they oppoſed it.

Some of the Tribunes thwart their Colleagues.

The Oppoſition of one ſingle Tribune was, as we have ſaid before, an invincible Obſtacle to any Propoſal; and all they had Occaſion to ſay, to hinder the Succeſs of any Affair, was this one *Latin* Word, *VETO, I forbid it:* A Term ſo powerful in the Mouth of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates,

that without the least Reason given for their Opposition, it was equally sufficient to break the Resolutions of the Senate, and the Proposals of the other Tribunes.

Thus the Laws were rejected, and the Senate triumph'd; but SEXTIUS, though surprized at the Treachery of his Colleagues, abated nothing of his Boldness; but taking his Resolution in a Moment: "The Gods forbid (said he) that I should "violate the noblest Privilege of the People, tho' "their Magistrates make use of it now against "their Interest! But since this Opposition has "so much Power, we, in our Turn, shall make "use of the same Weapon." Then addressing himself to the Senate and *Patricians:* "You may "call as many Assemblies as you please, Gentle-"men, (added he) to elect Military Tribunes; you "will find that this Word *VETO*, which is now "so agreeable to you in the Mouth of my Col-"leagues, will not please you so well in mine.

Anarchy of five Years. These were no empty Threats; for the Time being come for the Election of new Military Tribunes, LICINIUS and SEXTIUS stiffly opposed the proceeding to any Election at all of them; though at the same Time they managed it so well, as to continue themselves in the *Plebeian* Tribuneship. They renew'd the same Opposition for the five succeeding Years; so that the Republic being without a Head, fell, through the Obstinacy of both Parties, into a kind of Anarchy; which was interrupted only by the Creation of some *Inter-Kings*, who were elected at Times, to try to bring Matters to a Reconciliation.

Tusculum besieged. Mean time, a foreign War, which seemed to be a less Evil than these domestick Broils, came, as it were, to the Assistance of the Senate. The Inhabitants of *Velitræ* made Incursions into the Lands of the Republic, and afterwards besieged *Tusculum*,

Tuſculum, a City in League with the *Roman* People. As they could not avoid taking Arms to repel this Inſult, the two Tribunes of the People were conſtrain'd to wave their Oppoſition; and they proceeded to the Election of Military Tribunes, to lead their Army into the Field.

The Enemies were beaten, and the Siege of *Tuſculum* raiſed. *Velitræ* was afterwards beſieged; but that Place not being taken by thoſe that began the Siege, they were obliged to create new Military Tribunes. LICINIUS and SEXTIUS not being able to hinder it, found Means to get *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the Father-in-law of LICINIUS, to be choſen for one of thoſe Magiſtrates.

The Tribunes make new Remonſtances.

Theſe two Men, artful, enterprizing, and ſupported by a Military Tribune, reigned imperiouſly in all the Aſſemblies: They repreſented to the People, That in a Republic, the Great Offices ſhould be the Reward of Merit equally in all, without Diſtinction of Birth or Riches. And SEXTIUS, who was naturally eloquent, turning to the Senate, and apoſtrophiſing the *Patricians*, asked them ſternly, Whether they could not ſubſiſt upon Five hundred Acres of Land, when their Anceſtors had but two Acres allotted them for each Maſter of a Family, and moſt of the People had no more even Now? "But (adds he) it is this unequal "Partition among the Citizens of one and the "ſame Republic, which is the Cauſe that the Peo-"ple groans under the Weight of Uſury; and that "we daily ſee Men free-born, lying in Chains, "and dragg'd to Jayl like ſo many Slaves. And "we muſt not flatter ourſelves (added he) that the "Rich will ſet any Bounds to their Avarice, or "that the *Patricians* will abate any Thing of that "tyrannical Dominion which they exerciſe over "our Goods and Perſons, till the People have ſo "much Courage as to chuſe a Conſul out of their "their own Body, who may be the Interpreter of

" their Neceſſities, and the Protector of their Li-
" berty.

At the ſame time that SEXTIUS, by theſe and the like Diſcourſes, was fomenting the Animoſity of the *Plebeians* againſt the Senate, his Friends and Adherents gained over his Colleagues, who at length ceaſed their Oppoſition. SEXTIUS, having got clear of this Obſtacle, convened the Aſſembly of the People. The Senate, alarm'd at this Change in the Tribunes, who broke their Word with them, had Recourſe, as in the greateſt Dangers of the Republic, to a Dictator; and all the Senators with an unanimous Voice, beſtowed that Dignity upon CAMILLUS. This was the Fourth Time he had been inveſted with it: He accepted not of it now without ſome Unwillingneſs. Being indifferent between the Nobility and the People, and ſolely attached to the whole Body of the Republic, he had been glad to have avoided ſiding with either Party; but the Conteſt was too furious, and the Tribunes too obſtinate and hot to be prevailed upon by moderate Counſels. The two Tribunes, ſecure of their Colleagues, who had removed their Oppoſition, thought there was nothing now left to hinder the paſſing of their Laws, When the Dictator, to gain Time, publiſhed an Order for the *Roman* People to appear in the Field of *Mars*, to follow him to War.

Camillus *made Dictator to withſtand the Tribunes.* *Year of* Rome 384.

This Command of a Magiſtrate, who had Power of Life and Death over his Fellow-Citizens, cauſed a great deal of Uneaſineſs among the People. The Tribunes, to give them Courage, had the Boldneſs to threaten the Dictator, that they would condemn him to a Fine of Fifty Thouſand **Drachmæ*, unleſs he revoked his Edict. But during theſe Diſputes, the Time elapſed; Night

* *The* Greek *Drachma was, in value, the ſame as the* Roman Denarius, *that is, ſeven or eight* French *Sous, according to the moſt general Opinion.*

came

came on, and thoſe of the People, who, in ſpight of the Dictator's Edict, were come to the Aſſembly with the Tribunes, were oblig'd to depart without agreeing upon any thing; which was the Dictator's chief Aim. He afterwards laid down his Dignity; either becauſe, conſidering his great Age, and perhaps ſtill remembring his Exile, he did not care to venture himſelf again in an Affair of ſo much Heat; or, which *Livy* thinks the more probable, becauſe he was privately inform'd, that there was ſome Defect in the Form of taking the Auſpices at his Creation of Dictator. We have already heard to what a Point of Superſtition the *Romans*, who were then no leſs ignorant and unpoliſh'd than they were courageous, had carried theſe ſcrupulous Obſervations. If the Augur, in the preparatory Prayers, miſtook one ſingle Word for another; if the Veil which covered his Head chanced to fall; or if he himſelf did not riſe or ſit down again in his Seat exactly at the Times and Circumſtances appointed; the Omiſſion of the leaſt of theſe Formalities, which might eaſily happen in an infinite Number of other Ceremonies, was ſufficient to make void all the Deliberations or Elections that were performed in Conſequence of this Act of Religion; and a Man that was capable of deſpiſing the *Auguries*, was looked upon as profane and impious. It is not ſurprizing, therefore, that a Magiſtrate, ſo pious as CAMILLUS, ſhould be unwilling to retain any longer a Dignity conferred upon him contrary to the Laws and Notions of his Religion. And what would make one believe that he did not abdicate it out of Fear of the Tribunes of the People, is, that ſoon afterwards he accepted it again, when the Affair of the Conſulate was not yet determin'd. Mean time, as the Senate, in ſo nice a Conjucture, knew not how to act without a Dictator, whoſe Authority might be a Curb upon the Cabals and

Year of Rome 385.

Liv. 6. Dec. 1.

Religious Scruple.

Intrigues of the Tribunes, they conferr'd that great Dignity on *P. Manlius*, who, till then, had always seem'd a firm Adherent to the Interests of his Order and Society. But the Choice this Magistrate made of a *Plebeian*, named C. Licinius, for General of his Horse, showed his secret Inclination for the Party of the People; though he endeavoured to justify so extraordinary a Nomination, which, as yet, was without Example, upon Account of the Dignity of Military Tribune, which this C. Licinius had before enjoyed; wherein we are to distinguish him from C. Licinius Stolo, who was only Tribune of the People. The Dictator, to excuse himself for making this Choice, alledged some remote Alliance between his Family and that of Licinius. Which shows how rarely mutual Fidelity is preserved in the Confusions of the State, because of the secret Ties that there are among the Citizens of one and the same City, tho' of opposite Parties. Sextius apprehending nothing either from the Dictator, or General of the Horse, was now in hopes of bringing all his Designs to a happy Conclusion: He employed his Eloquence in all the Assemblies, to inspire the People with his own Ambition. But the Multitude, who earnestly wished for the Partition of Lands, and some Relief in their Debts, seemed but very indifferent as to the Consulate. This generous People had a Veneration for the Blood of the *Patricians*, as the glorious Spring of so many Generals who had led them to Battel and Conquest.

P. Manlius *Dictator.*

Indifference of the People as to the Consulate.

The Two Tribunes, alarmed at this Coldness, feigned that they would meddle no longer with any publick Affairs: They even jointly refused to concur in the Election that was to be made of new Tribunes for the following Year. *Sextius* represented in all the Assemblies, that his Colleague and he had grown old in that Office to no Purpose: That it was now nine Years since they had con-

Ambition of the exasperated Tribunes.

tended with the Senate for the Good of the People, who were now ready to abandon them: That the *Plebeians* would indeed very gladly come into the Partition of Lands, and were no leſs eager to be freed of their Debts; but when the Honour of their Magiſtrates was to be promoted, and the Reward of their Services to be paid, nothing was to be met with but Coldneſs and Indifference. And now *Sextius* flinging off the Mask: "Know (ſays "he to the People) that our Propoſals are inſepa- "rable. You muſt reſolve to paſs them conjointly; "and if we do not obtain the Conſulate by your "Suffrages, you ſhall have neither conquer'd Lands, "nor Diminution of your Debts; and I declare, "that my Colleague and I will renounce an Of- "fice from which we reap nothing but Ingratitude. Liv. l. 6.

All the Senators and *Patricians* in the Aſſembly could not enough wonder at the Impudence with which this audacious Tribune made ſo open a Confeſſion of his ambitious Aims. *Appius Claudius*, the Grandſon of the *Decemvir*, riſing up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Multitude: "At leaſt "(ſays he) you can now no longer doubt that "your Tribunes have ſtirred up all theſe Seditions "for nothing but their own Intereſt. You hear "theſe new *Tarquins* threaten you without Fear of "Puniſhment, that neither You ſhall have Lands, "nor the Republick Magiſtrates, unleſs the Con- "ſulſhip be yielded to them. *Year of* Rome, 385.

The People were very ſenſible of the Pride and Contempt they ſhowed in this Alternative; but the Buſineſs was gone too far: The Multitude, being afraid of loſing their Defenders, ſolemnly engaged themſelves to follow their Directions implicitly. It was only upon this Condition, that thoſe Two Magiſtrates condeſcended to hold their Tribuneſhip: And the moſt ambitious of Men were ſo artful, as to make a new Merit of the Continuation of their Empire and Dominion.

The Senate and Nobility were confounded at the Boldneſs of two Men that had got the Secret of perpetuating themſelves in two Offices, annual by their Inſtitution, but which they were making Hereditary in their Families. The Senators upbraided each other with their Weakneſs, and cou'd not, without Indignation, think with what a Decreaſe of Authority they ſhould leave to their Children the Dignity they had received from their Fathers. The whole City was in Motion, and its Inhabitants juſt upon the Point of taking Arms againſt each other, when they were obliged to turn them againſt a Cloud of *Gauls*, who, from the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, were advancing towards *Rome*, to revenge the Defeat of their Countrymen.

Irruption of the Gauls.

Enemies ſo formidable ſuſpended the Diviſions that tore the Commonwealth. It was now no longer time to diſpute about the Superiority either of Capacity or Valour between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. A common Danger, the ſureſt Teſt of true Merit, united all their Votes; and the Tribunes of the People demanded *Camillus* for their Dictator, with as much Eagerneſs as the Senate. This was the Fifth time that he was raiſed to this Supreme Poſt. Victory, under ſo great a Captain, was neither difficult nor doubtful. The *Gauls* were defeated; a great Number fell in the Field of Battel; and the reſt, being ſcatter'd by Flight, and unable to rally, were knock'd on the Head by the Peaſants. The End of this War was the Beginning of new Troubles at Home, and the old Diviſions broke out afreſh. LICINIUS and SEXTIUS, thoſe perpetual Tribunes, reſolved to carry the Conſulate at any rate. For this Purpoſe, they convened the Aſſembly of the People, and, without ſtaying to harangue them as uſual, order'd the Votes to be gather'd. The Dictator, who came into the *Forum*, followed by the whole Senate, wou'd have oppoſed it; but the Tribunes, who now

Camillus *Dictator. Year of* Rome 386.

Gauls *defeated.*

Daringneſs of the Tribunes againſt Camillus: *A Tumult.*

now reſpected neither the Laws, nor the chief Dignity of the Republick, ſent a Lictor to ſeize CAMILLUS, and carry him to Priſon. This Attempt upon the Sovereign Magiſtrate, made the whole Nobility riſe at once: *Rome* never ſaw ſo great a Tumult. The *Patricians* drive back the Lictor, and the *Plebeians* at the ſame time prepare to back him. The two Parties draw up on each ſide of the Place, juſt ready to come to Blows. In this Diſorder, the Dictator ſends word to the Tribunes to reſtrain their Animoſity for a Moment: He then calls to him all the Senators, and carries them into a neighbouring Temple, in order to come to ſome final Reſolution. But, before he entred, he turned towards the *Capitol*, and addreſſing himſelf to the Gods, he made a Vow to build a Temple to *Concord*, if he could reſtore Union among his Fellow-Citizens.

Plut. in Camillo.

Ovid. Faſt. lib. 1. Plut. in Cam.

There were ſtrong Debates among the Senators, What they had beſt to do; but at laſt, the Danger preſſing hard upon them, and the People in their Fury threatning to leave *Rome*, the more moderate Courſe, and that which was moſt ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of Things, was reſolved on by Plurality of Voices; and they at length conſented to grant the People one of the Places in the Conſulſhip: SEXTIUS was the firſt of the *Plebeians* that enjoyed it, and LICINIUS ſucceeded him ſhortly afterwards. The *Patricians*, on their ſide, by the Interpoſition of the Dictator, obtained two new Offices peculiar to themſelves, excluſive of the People, as it were to make them amends for what they had loſt.

A Plebeian Conſul.

The firſt was the Prætorſhip, eſtabliſhed for the diſpenſing of Juſtice in the City: A Function originally Part of the Conſulate; but which the Conſuls cou'd not always attend the Execution of, eſpecially in the Summer, which they uſually ſpent at the

Prætorſhip created.

Head

Head of the Armies. Thus the Prætorship was looked upon as a Supplement to the Consulate, and the Second Dignity in the Commonwealth.

Suidas. *Sp. Furius*, the Dictator's Son, was the first Prætor of *Rome:* and as such was allowed the *Prætexta*, or Robe edged with Purple; the *Curule Chair*, and Six Lictors bearing Fasces before him: Wherein the Prætor was distinguished from the Consul, who had Twelve. And as the Dictator had the General of the Horse for his Vicegerent, and the Consuls their Lieutenants; the Prætor had the Quæstors particularly under his Direction, and they eased him of Part of his Business.

The Major Ædility *created.* The Second Office that was created in Favour of the *Patricians*, was the *Major Ædility*, so called, to distinguish it from the *Plebeian Ædility*, established at the same time as the Tribunes of the People, whose Lieutenants they were looked upon to be. This Office was also called the *Curule Ædility*, because those who possessed it, were, like the Consuls and Prætors, allow'd to be carry'd in a kind of Throne adorned with Ivory, which they called the *Curule Chair*.

Liv. l. 7. Plut. in Camillo. The two first *Patrician Ædiles* were *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. The Functions of these *Ædiles* were answerable to those of our Mayors, Lieutenants *de Police*, and Treasurers of *France*, all at the same time. They had the Care of the Temples, Theatres, Sports, Games, Publick Places, Markets, Tribunals of Justice, and the Repair of the Walls of the City. It was also their Business to take care that no Novelty was introduced in Religion. They had the same Inspection over Books that were published, and Pieces that were written for the Stage: This Post, always filled by two *Patricians*, was a Step to the Prætorship and Consulate.

At

At length, after the Eſtabliſhment of the Conſuls, Prætors, and *Curule Ædiles*, the Law relating to the public Lands was paſſed, as the only Means to appeaſe the Multitude, and to ſettle Peace in the State.

This Law, named *Licinia*, from C. LICINIUS STOLO, its Author, contained, That no Citizen ſhould, upon any Pretence whatſoever, be for the future poſſeſſed of above five hundred Acres of the conquered Lands; and that the reſt ſhould either be diſtributed *Gratis*, or farmed out at low Rents, among the poor Citizens.

That in this Partition, at leaſt ſeven Acres ſhould be aſſigned to each Citizen.

That none ſhould be ſuffer'd to have upon his Eſtate above a certain determinate Number of Servants or Slaves, to improve it.

That the Number of Cattle ſhould alſo be limited proportionably to the Quantity of Land that each Man poſſeſs'd; and that the Richeſt ſhould not breed, nor ſend into the Commons and public Paſtures, above a hundred black Cattle, and five hundred Sheep.

That Three Commiſſioners ſhould immediately be named to take care of the Execution of the Law, and that the Author who prepar'd it ſhou'd not be one of thoſe Triumvirs.

Laſtly, That the Senate, the Knights, and the People, ſhould take a ſolemn Oath to obſerve this Law; and that whoever ſhould break it hereafter, ſhould be fined ten thouſand *Aſſes*, that is, ten thou- Pence.

The Law was at firſt obſerved with great Exactneſs, as new Regulations generally are. The very Author of the Law, C. LICINIUS STOLO, was the firſt *Roman* fined for Violation of it. He was convicted of poſſeſſing above a thouſand Acres of Land: And though, to eſcape the Rigor of the Law,

Licinius *condemn'd by his own Law.*

Law, he had before ſhared them out to his Son, whom he had Emancipated (or, made free) for that very Purpoſe, this Emancipation was looked upon as nothing but an Evaſion of the Law. Half his Lands were taken from him, and divided among the poorer Citizens; he paid, beſides, a Fine of ten thouſand Pence*; and learnt by his own Experience, That in a Free Government, the People will not bear to ſee the Magiſtrates exempt themſelves from the Obſervation of the Laws which they preſcribe to private Men. But as there are no Penalties ſo ſevere, which the Avarice of Men will not evade, the Richeſt and moſt Powerful among the *Romans* afterwards found a Way to get the Commons and conquer'd Lands adjudg'd to Themſelves under borrow'd Names. The Wars that fell out with the *Latins*, the *Samnites*, the *Gauls*, and the *Carthaginians*, favour'd theſe Uſurpations; the Laws were leſs heard amidſt the Tumult of Arms; the Magiſtrates with a mutual Colluſion concealed theſe Infractions; and at laſt they did not ſo much as make the leaſt Myſtery of their borrow'd Names, as we ſhall ſee by what follows. The Great ones pulled off the Mask, and the *Lex Licinia* fell at length into Contempt, and the People into Indigence and Miſery.

Liv. l. 7. c. 9.

This was the Cauſe of new Diſturbances, ſo much the more dangerous as the People were grown more numerous and powerful; and that ſome great Men, under pretence of ſupporting their Intereſts, made themſelves the Heads of Parties. But before I enter into the Particulars of

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* *The Pence of Gold were at the Rate of Seventy-two to the Pound, or Eighty-four Grains Weight, and were current for Forty* Denarii *of Silver. The Penny of Gold among the* Romans *was worth a Thouſand* Seſterces, *and each* Seſtertium *was worth a Quarter of their* Denarius *of Silver.*

theſe

these Diſſentions, I thought it would be very neceſſary to give ſome Account in what manner the *Romans* extended their Dominion over *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Spain*, and Part of *Africk* and *Aſia*. Which I ſhall relate as briefly as poſſible, and without ſtirring from *Rome* any more than is neceſſary to give a thorough Knowledge of the ſeveral REVOLUTIONS that happen'd in her *Government*, the main Deſign of this Work.

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